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THE
DRAMAS AND DRAMATIC DANCES
OF NON-EUROPEAN RACES
IN SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE
ORIGIN OF GREEK TRAGEDY
WITH AN APPENDIX ON THE ORIGIN OF GREEK COMEDY

BY

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These our actors,
As I foretold you, were all spirits.
SHAKESPEARE, *Tem.* IV, I, 148–9

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LVCIAE

VXORI CARISSIMAE

PREFACE

THE present volume is a sequel to my *Origin of Tragedy*, published in 1910, or rather it is an expansion of a short chapter in that work, wherein I had briefly given some evidence from the dramatic performances of Asiatic countries in support of my doctrine of the origin of Greek Tragedy. As all the criticisms of that book have been founded upon the Solar Myth, the Tree and Vegetation Spirit and Totemic theories of Kuhn, Max Müller, Mannhardt, McLennan, and my friend Sir James Frazer put forth in his famous *Golden Bough*, I have been compelled to examine in my Introduction (pp. 1–64) the principles on which those doctrines severally depend, whilst in the rest of the work concurrently with my own direct investigations I have tested the validity of those various theories upon which Professor A. Dieterich, Dr L. R. Farnell, Miss J. E. Harrison, Professor G. G. Murray, Mr F. M. Cornford, Mr A. B. Cook and Professor A. B. Keith have based their respective hypotheses for the origin of Greek Tragedy proper, Satyric Drama, Greek Comedy, the Great Games of Greece and the Drama of Hindustan.

The materials here presented formed the subject of a set of public lectures delivered at Cambridge in the Michaelmas Term of 1913. On December 10th of the same year the leading results of that course were laid before the British Academy in a paper, a summary of which appeared in the *Athenaeum* of December 20th, 1913. Although the work (the Addenda and the Appendix excepted) was already in type at the outbreak of the War, I must crave the reader's indulgence, if he shall find in it an inordinate number of defects, since in the months that have elapsed no man save one devoid of all love of country and utterly insensate could have concentrated his attention on questions which can only be regarded as mere trivialities in presence of the stern and sad realities that confront us day by day.

It only remains for me to offer my heartiest thanks to many old friends and former pupils as well as to others who have aided me in various ways: to Sir John H. Marshall, K.C.I.E., Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, to whom I am indebted for all the valuable information (pp. 172–206) on the

Hindu drama and dramatic performances supplied to me by his staff, Rai Bahadur Pandit Radha Krishna, Director of the Archaeological Museum of Muttra, Pandit Hirananda Sastri, Director of the Lucknow Museum, Mr D. R. Bhandarkar, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Poona, Mr H. Hargreaves, Superintendent of Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Lahore, Mr Narain Mahadeva, of the Archaeological Survey, Poona, Mr H. Krishna Sastri, Officer in charge of the Government Epigraphical Department for India, Pandit Hira Lal, extra-Assistant Commissioner, Nagpur, and the staff of the Office of the Archaeological Survey of Bengal, Bankipur; to Rai Bahadur Pandit Radha Krishna I am especially indebted for his great kindness and trouble in obtaining for me a fine set of photographs, a selection from which is reproduced in Figs. 11–18, 21, 24–39. I am also indebted, through Sir John Marshall, to Mr M. Zaffar Hassan, Assistant Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Delhi, for the photographs reproduced in Figs. 6 and 7 and for the information respecting them (p. 85), whilst I am further indebted to Sir John Marshall for a fine series of coloured drawings (two of which are reproduced in Figs. 56–7) illustrating the Burmese play of *Waythandara*, and through him to Mr Taw Sein Ko, who had the drawings made and also supplied other information on the Burmese Drama; to Miss Barbara Freire-Marreco for generously placing at my disposal the Hopi tales embodied in pages 364–74 and for the photographs from which Figs. 78–84 are taken; to the Rev. T. J. Pulvertaft, M.A., Secretary of the Spanish and Portuguese Reformed Churches, for his account of the dance in the Seville Cathedral and for the photograph of the Seises reproduced in Fig. 1; to Mr E. M. W. Tillyard, M.A., Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, and now serving his country in the trenches as lieutenant, King's Own (Royal Lancaster Regiment), for the photographs of Palermo Puppet-players reproduced in Figs. 22–3, and for the description of them (p. 169); to the authorities of the British Museum for allowing me to figure the Javanese masks and puppet (Fig. 45), the Dukduk mask (Fig. 73), and the North-west American Nulmal mask (Fig. 77); to Mr T. A. Joyce, M.A., of the Ethnographical Department of that Museum for his kindness in having the photographs of these objects made, and also to him and to Mr E. Torday for the photographs of African masks, reproduced in Fig. 57; to Lady Wheeler-Cuffe, and through her to Mr J. A. Stewart, I.C.S., Mandalay, for very valuable information respecting Nat-pwes and for the photographs reproduced in Figs. 88–91; and also through

Lady Wheeler-Cuffe to Dr Geis for the photograph from which Fig. 92 is taken; and to Mr B. S. Carey, C.S.I., C.I.E., for other photographs of Burmese dances; to Mr L. A. Goss, M.A., Teacher of Burmese in the University of Cambridge, for help in the Burmese section; to Dr H. A. Giles, Professor of Chinese in the University of Cambridge, not only for generous help, but also for permitting me to reproduce (Figs. 59–68) a selection from his beautiful coloured drawings of Chinese actors, and to Dr Lionel Giles, of the Oriental Department of the British Museum, to the Rev. W. E. Soothill and to the Rev. G. Owen, for very valuable aid in my Chinese section; to Mr E. J. Rapson, M.A., Professor of Sanskrit, Dr R. A. Nicholson, Lecturer in Persian, and to Mr R. H. Macleod, I.C.S., Reader in Indian Law, all in the University of Cambridge, for help in my Indian and Persian sections; to Prof. W. Gowland, F.R.S., and to Prof. J. Mavor, M.A., of Toronto University, for the photographs reproduced in Figs. 69–72, to Prof. K. Hamada, of Kyoto, and to Mr A. E. Brice, Assistant-Secretary of the Japan Society, for help in my Japanese section; to Mr Wilfred Beaver, for information respecting the West Papuan tribes (pp. 345, 397); to Dr Zuynholz, Director of the Royal Dutch Ethnological Museum, Leyden, for the photographs reproduced in Figs. 46, 47; to Mr R. M. Dawkins, M.A., Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge and late Director of the British School at Athens, for permitting me to reproduce a selection from his fine set of Karagoz Shadow-puppets (Fig. 48); to Mr E. C. Quiggin, M.A., Fellow and Lecturer of Gonville and Caius College and Monro Lecturer in Celtic, to Mr F. W. Green, M.A., Mr F. W. Hasluck, M.A., late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, Librarian of the British School at Athens, and to Mrs Margaret Gibson, LL.D., Ph.D., for useful references and other help; to Col. Sir R. C. Temple, Bart., C.I.E., to the Rev. John Roscoe, M.A., to Lt.-Col. P. M. Sykes, C.M.G., C.I.E., to Mr and Mrs Max Ferrars, and to the Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute, for permission to reproduce illustrations from their several publications; and finally, to the Rev. T. Grigg-Smith, B.A., Gonville and Caius College, for much help in compiling the index.

WILLIAM RIDGEWAY.

Flendyshe,
Fen Ditton,
August 6th, 1915.

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THE ORIGIN OF TRAGEDY

I. INTRODUCTION

All the world's a stage,
And all the men and women merely players.
SHAKESPEARE, *As You Like It.*

IN discussing the history of dramatic literature, all historians down to a few years since have, without exception, confined their attention to the rise of the Greek Drama, to its imitation in Rome, to the Mysteries and Miracles of mediaeval Christianity, to the revival of the Classical form, and to its splendid development in the plays of Christopher Marlowe, Shakespeare, Calderon, Corneille, and Racine. Moreover, all writers instead of seeking for the origin of the Drama by a rigid application of the historical and inductive method have approached its study from the *a priori* standpoint of pure Aesthetics. But as even now the study of art with few exceptions is almost invariably based on *a priori* assumptions, little regard being had to the anthropological method, it could hardly have been expected that writers on the drama would have followed other lines.

No matter how widely historians of Greek Tragedy may have differed from each other in details, they were all pretty well agreed that certain main features in its development were firmly established, but, as it turns out, this general agreement was based upon a complete misinterpretation of several vital statements of Aristotle in his *Poetic*, on which of course their theories had largely to be based. They held (1) that Tragedy was the invention of the Dorians in certain parts of Peloponnesus, basing this (*a*) on a passage of Aristotle[1] in which he states nothing of the kind, and (*b*) on the supposed Doric forms in the choral odes of tragedies, although not a single truly Doric form is found anywhere in such odes; (2) that it arose wholly out of the worship of Dionysus, whom they assumed to be an indigenous Greek deity, although there was a consensus of opinion among all Greek writers from Homer downwards to the contrary, and though Aristotle never mentions Dionysus in connexion with

[1] *Poetic*, iii. 3.

Tragedy ; (3) that the Satyric drama arose in the same Dorian states out of rustic and jovial dithyrambs common among the lower classes in the same districts as those in which Tragedy was supposed to have arisen,[1] a statement contrary to that supposed to be the doctrine of Aristotle in a famous passage of the *Poetic*, in reliance on which other scholars maintained that Tragedy has been evolved out of an ancient indigenous gross Satyric drama, but as we have shown elsewhere, Aristotle said nothing of the kind ; (4) that the Satyric drama was a kind of comic relief to the tragedy or tragedies to which it was assumed to have been always an adjunct from the earliest times, although it can be shown that Satyric dramas were only brought into Attica after 535 B.C. ; (5) that the *Thymele* had been always solely the altar of Dionysus ; (6) it was held that Thespis was the first to have established Tragedy on a proper basis, some holding that his grand step consisted in merely separating the leader from the rest of the Chorus and making him interrupt the Choral parts by some sort of Epic recitation, whilst others held that he was the first to apply to moral purposes the sufferings, often undeserved, of heroes.

A close examination of the available data, scanty as they are, led the present writer in 1904 to the conclusion that most, if not all, of these time-honoured doctrines had no foundation in fact, and that we must completely remodel our views concerning the beginnings and development of the Tragic Art.

It was patent that Greek Tragedy in the fifth century before Christ contained two widely different elements—true Tragedy concerned solely with the sufferings and sorrows of heroes and historical personages, and the Satyric drama termed by the Greeks ' Sportive Tragedy ', concerned solely with Dionysus and his Silens and Satyrs. Furthermore, the Old Comedy which was held by the ancients to be and most certainly was indigenous, was yet regarded by them as wholly distinct from the Satyric drama. Yet if the latter sprang out of the jovial and gross dithyrambs, how did it differ in its origin from Comedy ?

As we have already said, the universal misinterpretation of a passage in the *Poetic*[2] led many to hold that Tragedy proper had grown out of the gross Satyric drama, though in none of our extant tragedies is any trace of coarseness in thought or word to be found.

Certain scholars, such as Professor von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff,[3] found difficulties in what was assumed to be the doctrine of Aristotle,

[1] Mahaffy, *History of Greek Literature* (1880), vol. i, p. 233.
[2] Chap. 4.
[3] *Hercules Furens*, pp. 55 *sqq.*

but never dreamed of inquiring whether the interpretations of Aristotle on which the old theory was based were right. Many scholars assumed that Aristotle's statement that Tragedy had arisen out of the grotesque Satyric drama was wrong, and that the latter had an independent origin in gross rustic dithyrambs. Dr. Reisch[1] re-dished this old doctrine in a paper which was hailed by Dr. L. R. Farnell[2] and Mr. A. Pickard-Cambridge[3] as a new revelation. But Reisch simply repeated the old theory that both Tragedy proper and Satyric Drama were Dionysiac in origin, but each independent from the outset, his only proof of this assertion being a strained rendering of a phrase of Aristotle in which he followed Gomperz.

But Aristotle[4] has given us a chronological statement of the various steps in the evolution of Attic Tragedy: (1) Aeschylus added the Second Actor, (2) diminished the parts of the Dance (Chorus), (3) and gave prominence to the dialogue; (4) Sophocles added the Third Actor and (5) Scene-painting, (6) the short plots were succeeded by those of greater length, (7) it was only late that Tragedy got free from grotesque diction by getting rid of Satyric Drama and became completely dignified, and (8) the metre changed from tetrameter to Iambic, for at the outset they used the tetrameter owing to the style of composition being Satyric and more suitable for dancing. These eight *metabolae* or changes fall into two classes: (*a*) External—Actors, Chorus, Scenery; (*b*) Internal—Plot, Diction, and Metre. Now the first five changes in (*a*) are certainly in chronological order, and all of them are posterior to 499 B. C., when Aeschylus made his first appearance, whilst the three under (*b*) must be similarly regarded. For the change from the short to the long plot was posterior to the first appearance of Aeschylus in 499 B.C., and as the change in metre to iambic was his work also (since his elder contemporary Phrynichus used the tetrameter almost solely), and as this last is linked grammatically in the Greek very closely (by τε) to the preceding clause (the freeing of Tragedy from grotesque diction), this last process must fall within the same period as the change of metre, and certainly cannot be earlier than the first half of the fifth century before Christ. This examination shows us that whatever was the modification referred to by Aristotle's words respecting

[1] 'Zur Vorgeschichte der attischen Tragödie' (*Festschrift für Th. Gomperz*, Vienna, 1902), pp. 561 *sqq.*

[2] *The Cults of the Greek States*, vol. v, p. 230. Dr. Farnell calls Dr. Reisch Dr. Fleisch not only here but on pp. 232 and 233.

[3] *Classical Review*, March 1912, p. 53.

[4] W. Ridgeway, 'Three Notes on the *Poetic* of Aristotle' (*Classical Quarterly*, vol. vi, 1912, pp. 242–5).

the Satyric drama, this could not have taken place before the first half of the fifth century before Christ, the very period when Tragedy was shaking itself free from the Satyric drama which was finally supplanted by the melodramas, such as the *Alcestis*, which in 438 B. C. took the place of a Satyric drama in a Tetralogy of Euripides. For as the Greek term *Tragoedia* included both serious Tragedy and 'sportive Tragedy' (the Satyric drama), so long as the truly tragic trilogy was followed by a coarse Satyric drama, Tragedy had not freed itself from 'ludicrous diction' and attained to her full dignity. Aristotle, therefore, is not referring to the first beginnings of Tragedy in the sixth century, but to the state in which Aeschylus found it and from which he lifted it. When therefore he states that 'aforetime they had used the tetrameter because the style of composition was Satyric and more appropriate for dancing', he is alluding not to any original development of tragedy proper from the Satyric, but rather to the period later than the introduction into Athens of the Satyric drama by Pratinas of Phlius (*circa* 525) and when Aeschylus had now come to the front, when still in serious tragedies, such as the *Supplices* of that poet himself, the dance was hardly lessened in importance, and therefore such plays were a kind of composition which might well be termed *orchestikotera* (more appropriate for dancing). This harmonizes well with the fact that Thespis, Phrynichus, Pratinas, and Choerilus were all termed dancers by the ancients and that Aeschylus invented many new figures, the fact being that the drama was still merely an operatic performance, such as we shall find in the dramas of India, Burma, China, and Japan. This conclusion is therefore fatal both to the old view that Tragedy arose out of the Satyric drama and to the other view newly expounded by Reisch and adopted by Pickard-Cambridge, that Tragedy did not arise out of the Satyric drama, but independently 'from the satyr-play-like origin' (*von dem satyrspielartigen Ursprung*), for both views assume changes which must have taken place at least as early as Epigenes and Thespis.

But far more important is it that there is no longer any ground for the supposed contradiction between the statement of Aristotle respecting the relations of Tragedy proper to the Satyric drama and the passage in which he says, 'When Tragedy and Comedy came to light the two primary classes of poets still followed their natural bents, the lampooners became writers of Comedy and the Epic poets were succeeded by tragedians, since the Drama was a larger and a higher form of art.' Aeschylus thus put the truth in a nutshell when he declared that his own plays were but slices from the banquets of

Homer. But the Epic is not the oldest form of poetry. Joy and exultation after victory in battle or success in the chase, the outpourings of the anguished heart, the transports of the lover are and ever have been expressed not in set heroic measure, but in lyrical outbursts 'with uneven numbers'.[1] Such are the rude songs out of which arose the ancient Irish Epics, and such also are those embedded in the Icelandic Sagas. So too when Achilles sang to his harp the 'glories of heroes', he was not reciting heroic lays like a rhapsodist, but rather *singing* rude songs about the deeds of doughty men. As such wild lyrical utterances are subjective and do not 'imitate', Aristotle, as the present writer[2] has shown, did not include any discussion of lyrical poetry in the *Poetic*, but that he felt that it was concomitant with the Epic is proved by his pointing clearly to the few scattered personal expressions of the poet in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* as being outside the Mimetic art.

It is from the lyrical element in the ancient poetry that Aristotle states that Tragedy took its direct rise: 'Tragedy arose from the leaders of the dithyramb just as Comedy did from the leaders of the phallic songs which still survive in many of our towns.' Though this statement of his has never been challenged, yet the old theory and the newest both alike depend on the assumption that Aristotle meant that the *dithyramb* was the peculiar apanage of Dionysus, and was never used of any one else. But before we discuss this vital point, let us complete our survey of the various later theories of the origin of Tragedy.

Ridgeway's Theory of the Origin of Tragedy. The present writer was led in 1904 to the conclusions that (1) Tragedy proper did not arise in the worship of the Thracian god Dionysus; but (2) that it sprang out of the indigenous worship of the dead,[3] especially of dead chiefs such as Adrastus, the ancient pre-Dorian and pre-Achaean king of Sicyon, as described by Herodotus[4] in a passage which is our earliest authority for Greek 'tragic dances'; (3) that the cult of Dionysus was not indigenous in Sicyon, but had been introduced there by Cleisthenes (as it had been also brought into Attica and Naxos), and had been superimposed upon the cult of the old king; (4) that even if it were true that Tragedy proper arose out of the worship of Dionysus, it would no less have

[1] W. Ridgeway, *Origin of Tragedy*, pp. 7–8.

[2] 'Three Notes on the *Poetic* of Aristotle' (*Classical Quarterly*, vol. vi, 1912, pp. 235–41).

[3] For the full treatment of this subject, cf. W. Ridgeway, *Origin of Tragedy* (1910), pp. 28 *sqq.*

[4] v. 67.

originated in the worship of the dead, since Dionysus was regarded by the Greeks as *a hero*[1] (i.e. a man turned into a saint) as well as a god. The fact that in his most ancient shrine amongst the Bessae on Mount Pangaeum he had an oracle, as had the old heroes Trophonius and Amphiaraus at Lebadea and Oropus respectively, strongly confirms this conclusion, which will be still further corroborated by the evidence respecting the origin of oracles from dead kings presented in the following pages.

The Sicyonians honoured their old chief with sacrifices and tragic dances for the same reasons as those for which ancestors, heroes, and saints have been, and are still being, worshipped, as we shall see, in Western Asia, India, Burma, China, Japan, and, in a word, in almost every corner of the world. A good king in his life was supposed to bring all sorts of prosperity to his people. Thus Homer[2] speaks of 'a blameless king whose fame goes up to the wide heaven, maintaining right, and the black earth bears wheat and barley and the trees are laden with fruit, and the sheep bring forth and fail not, and the sea gives store of fish, and all from his good guidance, and the people prosper under him'. Nor is this doctrine confined to Greece, for it was held by the Swedes respecting Freyr, their ancient king-god, whilst conversely it was thought that under a bad king the earth refused her increase.[3] When a great and good chief dies, and the arm that once brought victory to his people can no longer wield the spear, and though a great barrow hide his bones, all is not over. His spirit is supposed to have the same tastes and passions in death as he had in life. Within his grave he still thinks of his family and people, and if they in turn still think of him and refresh his vital element with libations, best of all human blood, he will keep sleepless watch and ward, help them in the hour of peril, and use his kindly influence with Earth to make her yield her increase and to make fruitful the herds, flocks, and women of his tribe; and what the great king is supposed to do for his tribe, the rude forefathers of each humble family are supposed to do for their kin in a lesser degree. Furthermore the Greeks believed, as countless races still believe, that what a man or a woman loved in life, they love in death. At a soldier's funeral we fire volleys over his grave, while an officer's charger is led after the funeral car, a survival of a time not long past when the horse would have been slain at the grave to accompany his master to the unseen world. Did the dead

[1] Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.* 36; *de Iside et Osiride*, 35.

[2] *Odyssey*, xix. 107 *sqq.*

[3] *Annals of the Four Masters, sub* A.D. 10.

when in life love manly prowess and the swift racings of athletes and horses? At his funeral obsequies these had their place, as witness the famous games celebrated by Achilles after the burning of the body of Patroclus. There was the chariot-race, foot-race, boxing, wrestling, archery, and, most dangerous of all, the single combat. For this entered Ajax and Diomede. The former hurled a spear with such force that it pierced the shield of Diomede and almost reached his body. Diomede's blood warmed, and soon the Achaeans saw with anxiety that he had his eye fixed upon the throat of Ajax intent on dealing a fatal wound. Achilles likewise saw it, and promptly prevented the death of one of the bulwarks of the Achaeans by parting them asunder and giving equal prizes to both. To this we shall have to revert presently. In the fifth century before Christ, after the other funerary rites were concluded, the body burned or buried, the Thracians raised a barrow over the grave and 'games of all sorts were held', in which the single combat was awarded the highest prize.[1]

In the Italian Peninsula there is good evidence[2] for a like practice in the funeral games (*ludi funebres*) held at the obsequies of wealthy Romans, for the single combats between pairs of gladiators seem to have been nothing but a continuance of the practice of earlier days, slaves only being compelled to fight to the death. Servius[3] has the very significant remark that this was in accordance with the ancient belief that human blood should flow at the grave of a dead man. It must be carefully borne in mind that there were no gladiatorial shows, save at funerals, until the Imperial times. It must also be remembered that at a wealthy Roman's funeral[4] immediately after the *praeficae*, or hired '*keeners*', in some cases followed dancers and mimes who jested freely, whilst, according to Suetonius,[5] the chief mime (*archimimus*) wore a mask in the likeness of the deceased, imitated his speech and manners, and even jested at his expense. Then came the *imagines*, which, according to Polybius,[6] were masks representing distinguished ancestors of the deceased. These were brought out from the *atrium*, and each was worn by a man who was chosen to resemble as closely as possible the ancestor personated and was clothed in the dress of his office. Each rode in a chariot accompanied by lictors and other insignia of office. Thus the ancestors of the dead man escorted him to the family tomb. This dramatization of the dead, which we shall find to be very widespread and

[1] Herod. v. 8.
[2] Servius, *Ad Verg. Aen.* iii. 67; v. 78.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Dion. Hal. vii. 72.
[5] *Vesp.* 19.
[6] vi. 53.

primitive, led naturally to regular dramatic performances as part of the funeral games. Thus the *Adelphi* of Terence was performed at the funeral obsequies of Aemilius Paulus in 160 B.C.

But it was not merely at the actual obsequies that chariot-races, single combats, and contests of athletes took place. In the case of men pre-eminent among their fellows similar performances were repeated periodically in the recurring seasons. Thus Pindar [1] not only tells how Pelops shares in the honours of the blood-offering, where he lies buried by Alpheus stream and has a much-frequented barrow, but how Heracles founded the games beside the ancient tomb of Pelops, and how from afar he beholdeth the races.

In life the dead may have loved the dance and been honoured with dances, as David was by the Hebrew women on his return from the overthrow of the Philistines, whilst wicked Herod was so charmed by the dancing of Salome that he gave her the head of the Baptist, and as we ascribe to our gods our own feelings, dances are held in honour of them. Thus David himself danced before the Lord when he brought back the Ark from Shiloh. Let not the critic say that such practices are not Aryan, for ' of the many religious ceremonies to be witnessed in the Cathedral of Seville ', writes Mrs. Villiers Wardell,[2] ' none is so supremely interesting as the dances before the High Altar of the boys known as the *Seises*. These dances take place every year on the three days of Carnival, at the Feast of Corpus Christi, which falls at the end of May or the beginning of June, and during the octave of the Immaculate Conception, which begins on December 7th. The dances take place at the foot of the High Altar, and are accompanied by a stringed orchestra and by the organ. The boys—ten in number—wear pages' costume of the period of Philip III, and these costumes are made as follows : there is a tunic and knickerbockers of either blue or red damask (Fig. 1), with stripes of gold *galon*. Red is the colour for the Carnival and the Feast of Corpus Christi, and blue for the Feast of the Immaculate Conception. A very curious feature of these costumes is Las Aletas or wings, which are made of the same stuff as the rest of the costume and which hang down from the shoulders at the back. *Las Aletas* were the wings of the original boys who were dressed as angels. Over the shoulders and across the breast the boys wear scarves of white taffetas, which are fastened on the shoulder with a rosette. They wear collars and cuffs of white lace and *sombreros a la chamberga*, or hats, which are turned up directly in front (Fig. 1). These hats are made of blue or red damask and are lined with white, and

[1] *Ol.* i. 91 ; x. 30. [2] *Spain of the Spanish* (London, 1909), pp. 231–2.

FIG. 1. The 'Seises' of the Seville Cathedral dressed for the dance in honour of Corpus Christi or the Virgin.

are adorned with a tuft of plumes, blue or red, according to the season'.

My friend the Rev. T. J. Pulvertaft, to whom I am indebted for the photograph here reproduced (Fig. 1), thus writes: 'I went to the cathedral expecting to be shocked, and got quite close to the chancel rails. To my great astonishment I saw boys dance a beautiful minuet, and somehow or other, hypnotized by the motion and music, I lost count of time and everything else. It was a wonderful experience. There was not a trace of frivolity in the performance, and the whole *mise en scène* was most impressive. One story is worth repeating. When the Pope some centuries ago wished to suppress all religious dances in churches, he was asked to permit the Seises (there were originally *six* dancers) to continue. He issued a bull saying that they could continue until their clothes were worn out. The canons still always put a patch of the old garment on the new, and in this way obey the order of his Holiness.'[1]

But the Andalusians do not stand alone in such ideas of what is pleasing to Divine or sacred personages. In ancient Sicily, Venus of Eryx was the most famous of all deities. With Christianity she, like many another pagan divinity, was turned into a Christian saint, and by the modern Sicilians she is thought to dance before Christ in heaven, as is shown by the following quatrain:

O santa Venera,
Sì bella, sì tenera,
Che in Paradiso
Tripa avanti Gesù.[2]

But ancient Greece supplies striking instances of the use of dances to honour the dead besides those performed at Sicyon in honour of Adrastus. For example, at Athens on the third day of the *Anthesteria*, a very ancient festival of the dead, pots of cooked vegetables were offered to the gods and to the dead, and there circular dances (κύκλιοι χοροί) were performed similar to those held on solemn occasions at this hour (Fig. 32) in India and elsewhere. But amongst primitive peoples all dances are mimetic and pantomimic, and this holds true of not a few of those in vogue amongst civilized nations, as in the case of the Japanese Bon Odori, and to this rule the Greeks were no exception. As we shall find the dead honoured by mimetic dances in Burma, China, Japan, and numberless other

[1] In a letter dated February 6, 1914.

[2] For this verse I am indebted to my friend Mrs. Margaret Y. Gibson, LL.D., Ph.D., who heard it in Sicily.

places, we need not be surprised to find Adrastus of Sicyon honoured with dances which alluded to his great sorrows. That dead saints and martyrs who have suffered much in life are supposed to be pleased by having their woes kept in continual remembrance after death has been put beyond doubt.[1]

I also pointed out that the white masks, the only kind used by Thespis, were entirely unsuitable for Dionysiac representations, but eminently adapted for those of ghosts. In support of this view of the origin of Tragic masks much evidence from many regions will be adduced. Finally, I urged that Horace was right in his account of the grand step made by Thespis in the development of Tragedy. In early days the tragic chorus and its dithyramb were closely attached to the tombs or shrines of heroes, and were only performed on festival occasions at sacred spots, as was the case with the Mysteries and Miracles of mediaeval Europe. Thespis detached his chorus and dithyramb from some particular shrine, possibly at Icaria, his native place, and taking his company with him on wagons, gave his performances on an extemporized stage when and where he could find an audience, not for religious purposes but for pastime (as he himself said) and for gain, and I thus explained[2] Solon's outburst of anger at his presentations. Thus, not merely by defining more accurately the rôle of the actor, but by lifting Tragedy from being a mere piece of religious ritual tied to a particular spot into the greatest form of literature, he was the true founder of the Tragic art.

For the moment we shall pass over the question of the dithyramb, which will be more fittingly discussed a little further on.

Solar Myths, Tree spirits, and Totems. For more than half a century three theories have exercised a potent influence on many sides of Classical and Anthropological studies—the Sun myth of Kuhn and Max Müller, the Tree worship of Mannhardt, and the Totemism of J. F. McLennan. As the authors of the latest theories of the origin of Tragedy have laid them all under contribution, it will be necessary at this stage to make some remarks upon them.

The first of these theories were the product of the German Comparative philologists, who in the first glow of that new study believed that they had in it a most powerful instrument for historical investigation. But its founders started with a fundamental misapprehension of human nature by assuming that the primitive Aryans had a language consisting of abstract verbal roots, such as AK, 'to be sharp,' from which all sorts of nouns, such as *equus*, 'the swift

[1] Ridgeway, *op. cit.*, p. 60. [2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 36–7.

one,' and the like, were derived. They thus assumed that the primitive Aryans could do perfectly what few most cultured people of to-day can only do imperfectly—think in abstracts. Yet they might have remembered that so far from verbal roots being antecedent to nouns even in Sanskrit and Greek there are whole classes of *denominative* verbs, i. e. verbs derived from nouns, and that living languages are daily recruiting their verbal system by new formations from previously existing nouns, thus demonstrating that the names for objects come first, and that verbs and verbal roots are derived from them. There must be a Captain Boycott before there can be a verb to boycott.

This fundamental error of the philologists was due to the fact that they looked at things from the *a priori* standpoint begotten of Metaphysics, and though they were always talking loudly of Science and Scientific method, in practice they resolutely turned their backs upon it and took that easy primrose path of guesswork still trodden by their votaries. It is not surprising, therefore, that when this school began to investigate primitive religion they contemptuously flung aside the traditions and beliefs of the Hindus, Greeks, Latins, and all other peoples respecting the origin of most of their own gods—that they were human beings deified after death—and they boldly denied that these gods and heroes had ever been human personalities, and maintained that they were mere personifications of the phenomena of Nature and their changing processes. Thus not only were Apollo and Heracles, but also Agamemnon, king of men, Menelaus, Achilles, Odysseus, and all the other stately worthies of the heroic age of Greece, regarded as mere phases of the Sun myth, just as their successors in the school of *a priori* speculation now regard the same heroes as mere manifestations of abstract Vegetation spirits. Yet any one conversant with Greek literature and the history of Greek thought might have realized that it is only at a late stage of development that even the Greeks were capable of generalization. Aristotle has well emphasized this when he records as a great step the enunciation by Xenophanes of the Unity of the Universe. Again, it is certain that whilst in the latter part of the fifth century before Christ, a few philosophers at Athens, such as Socrates and his school, were discussing the One in the Many—the Universal and the particular, the great mass of the Athenians had exactly that attitude towards Nature and its phases as that set before us by Aristophanes in his *Clouds* in the person of Strepsiades, the elderly Athenian gentleman, with his simple theological beliefs and his crude and very concrete ideas respecting the

causes of rain and other physical phenomena. The late Dr. R. F. Littledale dealt a crushing blow to the Sun myth theory when he proved that Professor Max Müller on his own principles was only a Solar myth, whilst the late Sir Alfred Lyall delivered a still stronger attack on the same theory and its assumption that tribal gods and heroes, such as those of Homer, were mere reflections of the Sun myth by proving that the gods of certain Rajput clans at this present hour were really warriors who founded the clans not many centuries ago, and were the ancestors of the present chieftains. Many examples of the same kind, not only from India, but from Burma, China, and Japan, will be presented in the course of our inquiry. The theory, however, was not killed, but only scotched, for there is an inexpugnable love of what is false and fantastic deep down in the hearts of the great majority. It would therefore have been strange if this moribund theory had not sought a fresh lease of life by obtruding itself into fields hitherto immune, and accordingly in the last few years it has again reared its head in alliance with Mannhardt's Tree spirit, that other darling of the Folk-lorists, and also the manifold speculations that have sprung out of Totemism.

I may at once state that whilst Sir James Frazer holds that Vegetation spirits and the phenomena embraced under the term 'Totemism' are primary and absolutely independent of the belief in the existence of the soul of man after the death of the body, the present writer has already strongly maintained elsewhere [1] that Vegetation spirits and Totemic beliefs are merely secondary phenomena, all depending on the primary belief of mankind in the continued existence of the soul after the death of its carnal covering. It is with extreme reluctance and with genuine sorrow that I have found myself compelled to differ on this fundamental question from one of my oldest and best friends. It is sufficient at this stage to point out that the main object of this investigation is to test by means of the Inductive method the truth or falsity of our respective theories, for if my view should turn out to be right, it will follow at once that my theory of the origin of Tragedy is also true.

Sir James Frazer takes as his starting-point [2] the little lake of Nemi, near Aricia in the Alban hills, on the northern shore of which stood the grove and sanctuary of Diana Nemorensis (who, however, was not the oldest personage here venerated). In this precinct there

[1] In my Gifford Lectures delivered at Aberdeen, 1909–10 (as yet only published in summary), and *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, vol. xxxi (1911), p. xlix.

[2] *The Golden Bough* (ed. 2), pp. 1 *sqq.*

grew a tree in charge of a grim figure armed with a sword and ever on his guard against surprise.[1] He was both a priest and a murderer, and in his turn would meet a violent end :

> The priest who slew the slayer
> And shall himself be slain.

From that tree no branch might be broken save by a runaway slave, who, if he could, might do so, and thus be entitled to challenge the priest to mortal combat. If he slew him, he reigned in his stead with the title of King of the Wood (*Rex Nemorensis*). There was a legend that this barbaric custom was Scythian,[2] since Orestes after slaying Thoas, the Tauric king, had brought hither the image of the Tauric Diana, to whom in her old home every hapless stranger was sacrificed. In one of his freaks Caligula hired a stalwart ruffian to kill the holder of this grim priesthood, and it is known that the succession continued at least into the time of the Antonines. The Dianeum itself has been excavated in modern times, and proved by the relics to be of great antiquity. Two other beings shared the holy spot. One was the hero Virbius, identified with the Greek Hippolytus, killed by his horses on the shore of the Saronic Gulf. To please his patroness Diana (so went the story), Aesculapius brought him back to life, but Zeus was so wroth with the bold leach that he condemned him to Hades, whilst Diana surreptitiously bore her favourite to this sequestered spot. The other was the nymph Egeria, whose name is that of a great local family, one of whom, Manius Egerius, first set up the cult of Diana in what may have been his own family sanctuary. From him sprang a long and distinguished line. Hence the proverb, ' There are many Manii at Aricia.' The connexion of this family with the sacred grove may not be without some importance for our investigation.

The branch which the candidate for the ghastly priesthood had to pluck was said to be that golden bough which Aeneas under the monition of Sibyl had culled to be his passport to the abode of the dead, but it is important to note that there is no proof that the candidate was restricted to any one bough. Sir James Frazer[3] holds that this golden bough, which Virgil likens to the mistletoe that grows on the oak, was the mistletoe itself ' seen through the haze of poetry or popular superstition ', and thinks that he has shown grounds for believing that the priest of the Arician grove, the King of the Wood, personified the tree on which grew the Golden Bough. 'Hence if that tree was the oak, the King of the Wood must have

[1] Strabo, 199. 41 (Didot). [2] Strabo, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Golden Bough* (ed. 2), vol. iii, pp. 449–50.

been the personification of the oak tree spirit. It is therefore easy to understand (writes he) that before he could be slain it was necessary to break the golden bough. As an oak spirit his life or death was in the mistletoe on the oak, and so long as the mistletoe remained intact, he, like Balder, could not die. To slay him, therefore, it was necessary to break the mistletoe and probably, as in the case of Balder, to throw it at him, and to complete the parallel it is only necessary to suppose that the King of the Wood was formerly burned, dead or alive, at the midsummer fire festival annually celebrated at the Arician grove. The perpetual fire which burned in this grove, like the perpetual fire under the oak at Romove, was probably fed with the sacred oak wood, and thus it would be in a fire of oak that the King of the Wood formerly met his end. At a later time, as I have suggested, his annual tenure of office was lengthened or shortened, as the case might be, by the rule which allowed him to live so long as he could prove his divine right by the strong hand. But he only escaped the fire to fall by the sword. The rite was probably an essential feature of the ancient worship of the oak.' According to Sir J. Frazer, Virbius was a tree spirit and must have been the spirit of the oak on which grew the golden bough, for tradition said he was the first of the Kings of the Wood, whilst he also holds Balder to have been an oak spirit. ' It is at least highly significant (he continues) that amongst both the Greeks and Italians the oak should have been the tree of the supreme god, and that at his most ancient shrines both in Greece and Italy this supreme god should have been actually represented by an oak, and that so soon as the barbarous Aryans of Northern Europe appeared in the light of history they should be found amid all diversities of language, character, and country, nevertheless at one in worshipping the oak and extracting their sacred fire from its wood. The highest place (he holds) in the Aryan pantheon must certainly be assigned to the oak.' He concludes that ' Down to the Roman Empire and the beginning of our era the primitive worship of the Aryans was maintained in its original form in the sacred grove at Nemi as in the oak woods of Gaul, of Prussia, and of Scandinavia, and that the King of the Wood lived and died as an incarnation of the supreme Aryan god, whose life was in the mistletoe or Golden Bough '.

The reader will observe that these conclusions are largely built upon ' supposes ' and ' suggestions ', whilst at least one of his fundamental propositions—that in his most ancient shrines both in Greece and Italy the oak was the tree of the supreme god—is contradicted by the well-attested facts that at Olympia, the chief

seat of Pan-Hellenic Zeus, the sacred tree of that god was not the oak, but the wild olive, and that in the sacrifices to Zeus and also to Pelops ' the wood of the white poplar was used and no other '.[1] Moreover, this belief, so prevalent amongst folk-lorists, that the oak was the only or chief sacred tree amongst European peoples is at variance with another well-known fact. In ancient Ireland, although St. Patrick is said to have had a sharp controversy with a Druid who lived under an oak, yet of the five famous sacred trees mentioned in the *Book of Leinster*, which fell or were destroyed in the seventh century of our era,[2] only one was an oak,[3] the others being a yew, and three ashes. The reason why certain trees and other objects were held sacred may be found in beliefs still common in Ireland itself. Any day in St. Joseph's cemetery, Cork, people of both sexes may be seen passing to the solid stone tomb of Father Mathew, the apostle of temperance ; some of them are rubbing off the dust from the tomb, and applying it to rheumatic parts of their body or taking it internally. In lonely country churchyards people may likewise be seen taking earth from the grave of some pious priest, sometimes even eating it on the spot. The reason is that the spirit or *anima* of Father Mathew and other holy persons permeates not only the clay, but the massive tombs under which lie their mortal remains. The Greeks held exactly the same belief, as is clear from the following story. Not far from Libethra, on Mount Olympus, was the tomb of Orpheus. One day a shepherd lay down upon the grave about noon and went to sleep. But as he slept he was moved to sing verses of Orpheus's in a strong sweet voice. So the herdsmen and ploughmen in the neighbourhood left every man his work and hastened to listen to the song of the sleeping shepherd, and with their jostling to get near the shepherd, they overturned the pillar and the urn that was on it. Whether this story is true or not matters not for my purpose, but it demonstrates that the Greeks believed that the *anima* of the dead was in his grave and could enter into one who lay upon it.[4] But what holds true of graves of earth and stone, holds no less true for trees.

In parts of Ireland no one will use for firewood, even in places and seasons when fuel is very scarce, a tree which has grown in a churchyard. I know of a case where such a tree lay untouched for seventeen years. Again, in another part of Ireland there stood

[1] Paus. v. 13. 3 ; 24. 3.

[2] Facsimile, 199*b*, 200*a*, cited by Rev. T. Olden, D.D., *The Church of Ireland*, p. 5.

[3] As the mistletoe is not indigenous in Ireland, the sanctity of Irish oaks was not due to the growth of this parasite upon them.

[4] Paus. ix. 30. 9–10.

by the roadside at a dark and dangerous corner an ash tree on which were cut a rude cross and heart, and at the foot of which lay a small heap of stones continually added to by fresh pebbles cast on it by wayfarers. The reason was that one dark night a miller named Ryan had upset his heavily laden cart and was himself crushed against the tree. Hence it had become, if not sacred, at least *sacer*. If it can be shown that in other parts of the world trees have been and are still held sacred because they grew or grow on or near the remains of a dead man, or because some one has been done to death upon or near them, we may arrive at a very different solution from that of Sir James Frazer and his school respecting the strange rite at Nemi. But ancient Greece and Rome again come to our aid. Every one knows the story in Virgil's *Aeneid* in which he relates how Aeneas and his followers landed on the coast of Thrace and proceeded to kindle a fire ; how to their horror the bushes plucked from a mound oozed with blood ; how the hero himself on going near found that it was the barrow of young Polydorus, Priam's youngest son, murdered by the Thracian king Polymnestor, and how the lad's ghost spoke to him from out a tree. Again, when Hyrnetho, the daughter of Temenus, king of Argos, and wife of Diphontes, died, her husband took up her dead body and brought it to the spot which was afterwards called Hyrnethium, and they made a shrine for her and bestowed honours upon her. In particular a rule was made that of the olives and all the trees that grew there no man might take home with him broken boughs or use them for any purpose whatever, but they leave the branches where they lie because they are sacred to Hyrnetho.[1]

Again, in the front of the king's palace at Benin[2] stood awful *juju* trees on and near which human sacrifices were continually made. These were not to strengthen the spirit of a supreme god who dwelt in the trees, but they were to appease the spirits of the king's ancestors who lay buried there, and who had to be propitiated with constant draughts of human blood.

Let us now return to Nemi and the golden bough, which Aeneas plucked to protect him as he fared to the abode of souls, a legend which seems to point to some connexion between the sacred oak and the dead. Moreover, the oak had the right of sanctuary, for the runaway slave who succeeded in grasping a branch of it could not be summarily dispatched, but might challenge the priest to mortal combat. Elsewhere the present writer has shown[3] that in Greece as well as in other countries sanctuaries and asylums arose, and still

[1] Paus. ii. 23. 3. [2] H. L. Roth, *Great Benin*, pp. 173–5 ; cf. pp. 181, 187.
[3] *Origin of Tragedy*, pp. 138 *sqq.* ; pp. 174 *sqq.*

arise, round graves from fear of the anger of the mighty dead within. If the suppliant can reach the tomb or sacred spot wherein the soul of the dead hero or dead chief is supposed to dwell, he remains in safety until he be tried or otherwise disposed of. Now as such sanctuaries, e.g. that at Taenarum in Laconia, were largely resorted to by runaway slaves, and as each claimant for the Nemi kingship was such a fugitive, there seems a *prima facie* case for inquiring whether this oak was regarded as the residence, not of the supreme god of the Aryans, but of some disembodied human soul. Now as in this grove there was worshipped a personage who bore the name of Egeria, that of the great local family who had there set up the cult of Diana, may not this oak have been held sacred and have had human blood shed beneath it from time to time, because it grew on or near the graves of the Egerii, and was thus thought to be the abode of some departed spirit of that house ?

In our investigations, which of course will be mainly concerned with Tragedy, we shall be obliged to test Sir James Frazer's hypothesis here given and also his doctrine of Totemism, because the latest theory of the origin of Tragedy is based on his doctrine that Vegetation spirits and Totem animals are primary phenomena and stand rigidly apart from any belief in the existence of souls after the death of the body. A further fundamental principle of his Vegetation spirit doctrine is the assumption that Dionysus, Demeter, Osiris, Adonis, and Attis and such-like personages had never been human individuals, but always Vine, Corn, and other Vegetation abstractions.

Finally Sir James Frazer makes dramatic performances arise in the dramatization of the seasons by primitive men. 'The spectacle of the great changes', writes he,[1] 'which annually pass over the face of the earth, has powerfully impressed the minds of men in all ages, and stirred them to meditate on causes of changes so vast and wonderful. Their curiosity has not been purely disinterested, for even the savage cannot fail to see perfectly how intimately his own life is bound up with the life of nature, and how the same processes which freeze the stream, and strip the earth of vegetation, menace him with extinction. At a certain stage of development men seem to have imagined that the means of averting the threatened calamity were in their own hands, and they could help or hasten or retard the flight of the seasons by magic art. Accordingly they performed ceremonies and recited spells to make the rain fall, the sun to shine, animals to multiply, and the fruits of the earth to grow. In the course of time the slow advance of knowledge, which has dispelled so many cherished

[1] *Adonis, Attis, Osiris* (ed. 3, 1914), vol. i, pp. 3 *sqq.*

illusions, convinced at least the more thoughtful portion of mankind that the alternation of summer and winter, of spring and autumn, were not merely the result of their own magical rites, but that some deeper cause, some mightier power, was at work behind the shifting scenes of nature. They now pictured to themselves the growth and decay of vegetation, the birth and death of living creatures as effects of the waxing or waning strength of divine beings, of gods and goddesses, who were born and died, who married and begot children, on the pattern of human life.

'Thus the old magical theory of the seasons was displaced, or rather supplemented, by a religious theory. For although men now attributed the annual cycle of change primarily to corresponding changes in their deities, they still thought that by performing certain magical rites, they could aid the god who was the principle of life in his struggle with the opposing principle of death. They imagined that they could recruit his failing energies and even raise him from the dead. The ceremonies which they observed for this purpose were in substance a dramatic representation of the natural processes which they wished to facilitate; for it is a familiar tenet of magic that you can produce any desired effect by merely imitating it. And as they now explained the fluctuations of growth and decay, of reproduction and dissolution, by the marriage, the death and the rebirth or revival of the gods, their religious or rather magical dramas turn in great measure on these themes. They set forth the fruitful union of the powers of fertility, the sad death of at least one of the divine partners, and his joyful resurrection. Thus a religious theory was blended with a magical practice.'

On these assumptions, Miss Harrison, Mr. F. M. Cornford, and Professor G. G. Murray have based the latest theory of the origin of Tragedy.

It may at once be said that Sir James Frazer has not been able to make good his propositions, that magic is a stage prior to religion, that men began to dramatize natural phenomena, and to set forth the fruitful union of the powers of fertility, and the sad death of at least one of the partners and his joyful resurrection before they had long been dramatizing human life, for in the course of this investigation it will be shown that religion is as early as magic and that the dramatizations of such as those just cited only make their appearance at a relatively late period, and long after dramas based on human life and its sorrows have been in vogue for generations.

Dr. Farnell's Theory of Attic Tragedy. As Dr. L. R. Farnell has propounded a theory of the origin of Attic Tragedy based on the

simple assumption that seasonal dramatic performances are primitive and antecedent to dramas based on human life, it will be best to dispose of his arguments before we proceed to deal with the other theory which depends both on the assumption of primitive seasonal dramas and also on Sir James Frazer's other assumption that Dionysus, Demeter, Osiris, Adonis, and Attis, and like personages were Vine, Corn, and other kinds of Vegetation spirits and never human beings.

Dr. Farnell [1] holds that Attic Tragedy arose out of 'a European winter mummery', for the following reasons which I have refuted elsewhere at length.[2] (1) He depends on the epithet *Melanaegis* (of the black goatskin) applied to Dionysus of Eleutherae, a village on the borders of Boeotia and Attica, whose obscene cult was brought to Athens by one Pegasus of Eleutherae. But I have shown that Dionysus had no monopoly either of goatskin dresses in general or of black goatskins in particular, since the Eumenides are described by Aeschylus as wearing like garments. (2) Again, he relies on the story of a single combat between Melanthus on behalf of the Athenians and Xanthus the Boeotian champion, in which Melanthus by the aid of Dionysus of the Black Goatskin slew Xanthus. In this Dr. Farnell sees a struggle between Black man (Melanthus), Winter, and Fair man (Xanthus), Summer, and he thinks that this is supported by a fact pointed out by Dr. Usener that there was a Macedonian festival called Xandika, but the evidence from the story of Melanthus and Xanthus is just as unsubstantial as the phantom seen by the former, for it is easy to turn any tale, ancient or modern, into a nature myth; there is every reason for believing the substantial accuracy of the non-miraculous part of the story. (3) He also relies on a mumming play of modern Thrace in which the performers wear goatskins, but he omits to mention that the performers also wear foxskins and deerskins, so that no special significance can be assigned to the goatskins. (4) He lays great stress on the story of the Minyan Psoloeis ('Sooty') of Orchomenus, but this is still more futile than his other reasons, for this name was neither applied to the child Hippasus who was slain by his mother Leucippe and her sisters, nor yet to the women of that family. All Plutarch states in the passage to which Dr. Farnell refers is that the name *Aeoleiae* was still applied to the women of the house of Minyas, but he makes no such assertion about the application of the term Psoloeis to the males of that race. Dr. Farnell's argument depends upon the assumption that in each case we

[1] *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, vol. xxix (1909), p. xlvii; *The Cults of the Greek States*, vol. v, p. 235, note A.

[2] *Origin of Tragedy* (1910), pp. 73 *sqq*

have Black man killing Fair man. But the Psoloeis, 'the Sooty ones', did not kill either the boy Hippasus, nor the Aeoleiae, in historical times, nor were they themselves killed. Accordingly they cannot be equated either with Melanaegis or Melanthus or the 'goat-men', who kill a goat-man in the Thracian mummery, nor is there any trace of any connexion between the Psoloeis and the goat. Finally, Dr. Farnell ignores the fact that in historical times the human victim at the Agrionia was not a boy, but one of the women of the house of Minyas, but the latter cannot be identified with a boy representing a slain young god.

But Dr. Farnell's theory breaks down not only in details but in principle. Sir James Frazer and others have at least some grounds for the view that primitive men try to strengthen the Vegetation or Seasonal spirits or other natural phenomena by rude dramatizations, such as the lighting of bonfires on Midsummer Eve to keep the Sun's heat from failing, and of the Yule log at Midwinter to help him to regain his warmth. But surely no primitive man ever went through a series of magical dramatizations in order to strengthen Winter (Black man) to kill Summer (Fair man). Dr. A. B. Keith, who, as we shall see, also under the inspiration of Sir James Frazer, finds the origin of the Hindu drama in the slaying of the dark Koravas by the fair Pandavas, at least escapes Dr. Farnell's fantastic assumption. But Dr. Keith omits the very important point that in the Hindu story the fair Pandavas were led to victory over the dark Koravas by Krishna 'the Black', a fact in itself fatal to his theory. The truth is that Dr. Farnell and Dr. Keith would have found a less irrational basis for their respective theories in that scene of *Punch and Judy* (Fig. 2) in which the fair-complexioned Punch kills the Negro doctor. In this ancient puppet play they have, at least, a genuine case of a fair man killing a black man, and that too without any aid from another black man. (Cf. pp. 157 *sqq.*)

The Sacred Drama of Eleusis. In the ordinary scholar the name of Eleusis awakes no thoughts of the struggles of athletes and of panting steeds, but of the mystic rites of Demeter and Persephone, and of the annual performances of sacred dramas. Yet for Pindar and his contemporaries the *Eleusinia* meant notable contests worthy to be ranked with the other chief games of Hellas, a fact which indicates that in early times the most important part of the festival was not the celebration of mysteries. But from Mannhardt downwards all writers on Greek religion have fixed their attention mainly on the latter element and have assumed that Demeter was the Corn spirit, and her daughter Persephone the young blade of wheat.

Eleusis has therefore become a chief corner-stone of the Vegetation spirit theory, and from the seed sown by Mannhardt in the rich soil of Eleusis has sprung a goodly crop of tares. For example, Mr. J. C. Lawson has assumed [1] that the Eleusinian rites were a great Spring Vegetation ceremony continued in the Christian Easter, quite regardless of the fact that the festival fell about the autumnal equinox, and that the Greeks themselves regarded it as a harvest thanksgiving when the tithes from the corn were offered to the deities and heroes.

As we have seen above (p. 19), Sir James Frazer cites as typical examples of his supposed primitive dramatization of natural processes 'the union of the powers of fertility', and Eleusis has been taken as the best example in Greece of such dramatic performances. Moreover the latest theories of the origin of Tragedy rest mainly on the supposed antiquity of the sacred dramas there, in which was enacted the marriage of Zeus and Demeter.

'At Athens,' writes Sir James Frazer,[2] 'and probably elsewhere, the vine-god was married to a queen in order that the vines might be loaded with clusters of grapes. There is reason to think that a marriage of a different kind intended to make the fields wave with yellow corn was annually celebrated not many miles off beyond the low hills that bound the plain of Athens on the west.'

In the great Mysteries solemnized at Eleusis in the month of September the union of the sky-god Zeus with the corn-goddess Demeter appears to have been represented by the union of the hierophant with the priestess of Demeter, who acted the parts of god and goddess. But their intercourse was only dramatic or symbolical. Sir James Frazer adds that he followed the interpretation of the evidence of M. P. Foucart and Miss J. E. Harrison.[3] The former,[4] however, regards Demeter as simply the Egyptian Isis and argues against Sir James Frazer's vegetation theory. The latter states her case in her section on 'The sacred marriage, and the sacred birth at Eleusis': 'Iacchus, as we have seen, was defined as the child Dionysus at the breast,' but for any ceremony of his birth or awakening under the name of Iacchus we look in vain. Iacchus is Athenian. No one ventured to say that he was born at Eleusis, but by a most fortunate chance the record is left us of another mother and son at Eleusis, and we know too that the marriage of this mother and the birth of this son were the central acts, the culmination

[1] *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*, pp. 572 *sqq.*
[2] *The Golden Bough* (ed. 2), 1900, vol. ii, p. 138.
[3] *Prolegomena to Greek Religion* (1903), pp. 549–50.
[4] *Les Mystères d'Éleusis* (ed. 2), 1914, pp. 131 *sqq.*

of the whole ritual of the Mysteries. We owe this knowledge to the anonymous treatise which has already furnished the important

FIG. 2. Punch kills the Black Doctor. A drama of Summer killing Winter!

details as to the Mysteries of Phlya.[1] The author of the *Philosophoumena* is concerned to prove that the heretical sect of the Naassenes got their doctrine from the ceremonials practised by the Phrygians.

[1] Cruice's Edition (Paris, 1860), p. 160.

The Phrygians, the Naassene says, assert that god is ' a fresh ear of grain reaped '. He then goes on to make a statement of supreme importance, and ' following the Phrygians, the Athenians when they initiate, at the Eleusinian rites, exhibit to the Epoptae the mighty and marvellous and most complete Epoptic mystery, an ear of grain reaped in silence. And this ear of grain the Athenians themselves hold to be the great and perfect light that is from that which has no form, as the hierophant himself, who is not like Attis, but who is made a eunuch by means of hemlock and has renounced all carnal generation, he by night at Eleusis, accomplishing by the light of a great flame the great and unutterable mysteries, says and cries with a loud voice, " Holy Brimo has borne a sacred Child, Brimos," that is, the mighty has borne the mighty ; and holy, he (i.e. the Naassene) says, is the generation that is spiritual, that is heavenly, that is from above, and mighty is he so engendered.' ' The evidence of the writer ', says Miss Harrison, ' is indefeasible as regards the rites themselves.' But whilst it is ' indefeasible ' for the rites as practised in his day, it by no means follows that it is of any value for the rites of Eleusis as practised in the sixth century before Christ, as assumed by Miss Harrison, Sir James Frazer, and the rest. It might as well be postulated that the doctrine of Papal Infallibility, which was only formulated in the latter half of the nineteenth century, was one of the doctrines of the early Church. To put it briefly, the whole theory of the sacred marriage between the Sky-god and the Earth-goddess at Eleusis depends entirely upon writers who all lived after the Christian era, and who described with accuracy the performances at Eleusis in their own time. The *Philosophoumena* itself, on which Miss Harrison mainly relies, was not written earlier than the second century after Christ, whilst Hippolytus, Tertullian, Arnobius, Asterius, and Psellus are all several centuries later.

An examination of the very full data which we possess respecting the sanctuary and cults of Eleusis will demonstrate that Zeus had no part whatsoever in its worship before the Christian era, that Dionysus-Zagreus was unknown there until the fourth century before Christ, and that the only Father god recognized in the sacred precinct in the centuries immediately before Christ was Poseidon. Thus the whole superstructure raised upon the unwarrantable postulate that what the Christian writers described as the practice and doctrines of Eleusis in their own days were primaeval at that hallowed spot, must tumble to the ground.[1]

[1] W. Ridgeway, ' Origin of Great Games of Greece ', *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, vol. xxxi (1911), p. xlix.

The Homeric Hymn to Demeter is our oldest document and dates from the seventh century B.C. The main features are as follows. Pluto carried off Persephone from the Mysian plain (not, as in the later version, from Enna in Sicily). Her mother heard her shriek as it rang through the hills and over the seas. For nine days she roamed in vain search for her child. On the tenth Hecate met her with torches and asked her of her grief. The Mother made no answer, but sped forth with Hecate with lighted torches and went to the all-seeing Sun, who told her that Zeus had given her daughter to Pluto. Demeter left Olympus and went to the haunts of men, her form disguised, and no man or woman beheld her until she came to the well-built town of sage Celeus, then chieftain of fragrant Eleusis. Sad at heart she sat by the wayside close to the Virgins' Well, whence the folk of Eleusis drew water. There sat she in the shade of an olive like to an ancient dame long past the season of child-bearing, such as nurse the children and keep the houses of kings. Then came the daughters of Celeus, son of Eleusis, to draw water.[1] The maidens, four in number, asked who she was, and whence she came. She answered that her name was Dos, and pirates had led her over the sea to Thoricus, in Attica, where the slave-women were landed and made ready supper hard by the ship. Thence she had fled from her master and fared to this place. She begged them to take her to some house, to do work meet for an aged woman. 'I could deftly handle a babe, take care of the house, and spread the bed of my master in the nook of the well-built dwelling, and manage the work of women.' Then Callidice told her the names of the chief men of the place—Triptolemus shrewd in counsel, Diocles, Polyxeinus and blameless Eumolpus, and Celeus our noble sire. The maids said they would ask their mother to take the old dame as a nurse for their infant brother Demophon, the only son of the house. They told their mother, who straightway bade them fetch the aged dame and promised her a guerdon as nurse. The maidens sped with the tidings and guided the stranger home, clad in a sable robe and with her head all veiled. She refused at first to sit down, until Iambe with her rude jests made her smile. Then Metaneira offered her wine, but she refused it and asked for a posset of barley and water and mint. She became the nurse of Demophon, who was the sole joy of her heart, and she resolved to make him immortal by plunging him each night into the embers, until one night Metaneira caught her in the act. In motherly anger she assailed the nurse. Demeter revealed herself in awful majesty and declared that she

[1] 105 *sqq.*

would have made the child immortal had it not been for his mother's folly. 'But this cannot be, so when Demophon grows to man's estate, the Eleusinians shall all day long be engaged in strife. I am revered Demeter. Let the folk build for me a great temple (*naos*) and beneath it an altar below the town and the lofty wall above the well Callichoron and on the jutting hill I will teach you my rites that hereafter you may duly perform them and assuage my anger.'

Then she strode forth from the palace. On the morrow Celeus told all to the folk and bade them found a shrine upon the jutting hill, and they hearkened to his behest. But Demeter kept apart from the gods; that year was grievous for men. In vain the oxen drew the plough, for the sown barley had no yield. Then Zeus sent Iris to Demeter to her shrine at Eleusis, and god after god was sent by the Father, but all in vain. 'Never', said she, 'will I mount to Olympus and let forth the fruit of the earth, until I behold the fair face of my child.' Then Zeus sent Hermes down to Erebus to fetch Persephone up, who ever grieved for her mother. Pluto obeyed the behest, and Persephone leaped forth in joy, but Pluto had already given her the seed of a pomegranate so she could not always remain with Demeter. Hermes then bore her back to Eleusis. Like a Maenad on the wild mountain-side Demeter sprang to her daughter. The great goddess's wrath was appeased, and Zeus ordained that Persephone should spend two parts of each year with her mother and one part with Pluto. Demeter went back to the Rharian plain at Eleusis, then lying all barren because of her wrath. The barley had not shot up, but soon the ploughlands bristled, and the whole earth brought forth in plenty. She went to the kings that bring forth dooms, Triptolemus and horse-goading Diocles, the mighty Eumolpus, and Celeus, leader of folk, and taught them her sacred rites. They ordained a holy rite for all, her holy rite which none must neglect or divulge, for dread awe of the gods restraineth utterance. Blest is he who hath beheld them, for even in death doth differ the hap of him who hath been admitted and of him that hath not.

Let us now put together all the references in this *Hymn* which may be regarded as having in them some element of historical truth, and then we shall check them off by the material remains found on the site and the evidence of the classical period. The statements fall into three classes—the topography of Eleusis, its local history, and its ritual.

(1) Demeter sits by a well some little distance from the town; (2) there is a fortress on a hill, (3) on a spur of which the sanctuary of Demeter is set up, higher than (4) the well Callichoron; (5) hard

by is the Rharian plain covered with rich crops of barley ; (6) when Callidice tells Demeter that Triptolemus, Diocles, Polyxeinus, Eumolpus, Dolichus, and Celeus are the leading men of the place, Triptolemus comes first in the enumeration and he holds the same position in the other two lists of the chieftains. (7) Finally it appears that *orgia* were instituted, with a secret ritual.

Although logically we ought to deal first with the topography, it is more suitable to treat first the legendary history, since it is that which gives its importance to the place.

Three names stand out in this history—Triptolemus, Celeus, and Eumolpus—in the earliest and the latest times, and the two great families who controlled the cults in the historical period and held the two great offices of torchbearer (*daduchus*) and hierophant traced their lineage from these three heroes.

(1) **Triptolemus.** The *Hymn* does not mention the pedigree of Triptolemus, but the later legends make him the son of Celeus, or else make him and his brother Eubulus the sons of an Argive priest who brought with him the rites to Eleusis and there married a native woman. An Orphic hymn says that the brothers were sons of Dysaules, and that Demeter taught them the use of corn as a reward for information about her daughter. Some verses ascribed to Musaeus declare Triptolemus to be the son of Oceanus and Gaea, whilst the story in the *Alope* of Choerilus made Triptolemus and Cercyon sons of a daughter of Amphictyon the Attic king, the father of Triptolemus being Rharus, that of Cercyon Poseidon. Manifold as are these legends, they all agree in making Triptolemus an aboriginal chief of Eleusis, whilst one of them makes him a son of Celeus, whose family is so prominent in the Homeric *Hymn*; the descendants of Triptolemus were the priests of the place in classical times. Finally Zeus never appears in the pedigree, though Poseidon does. Demeter is said to have taught Triptolemus to make a plough, till the soil, and sow corn. Tradition made the Rharian plain the first experimental farm, whilst in classical times not only were the cakes used in the rites at Eleusis made from the barley grown thereon, but some barley from that same spot was the prize for the victor in the Eleusinian games. Yet it is essential to note that the Homeric *Hymn* says not a word about the bestowal of the art of agriculture on Triptolemus by Demeter. On the contrary, as we have seen, that poem represents the Rharian plain as covered with a rich crop of barley when Demeter came to Eleusis. Moreover Metaneira supplied her with barley water to drink ; in other words, barley meal mixed with water, the universal food of the Greeks in the Homeric age,

'barley meal, the marrow of men'. Thus Triptolemus had already a leading position at Eleusis long before the legends which represent him as taught by Demeter had ever arisen. The *Hymn* makes Demeter impart to him and Eumolpus certain rites, but not the gift of corn. The *Hymn* therefore celebrates not the birth of agriculture, but the introduction of mystic rites into Eleusis, and represents their introduction as long posterior to the art of the sowing of corn and the invention of the plough and the wagon, which in all the later legends are bound up with Triptolemus. But as the *Hymn* represents Triptolemus as the most important personality connected with the spot, we may not unreasonably infer that there was some very ancient cult connected with the name of Triptolemus, who was held in grateful memory by his people for having brought to them the gift of corn long before the orgiastic rites were introduced from Thrace by Eumolpus.

One fact comes out clearly, the close connexion of the cult of Triptolemus with that of Demeter from first to last.

(2) **Eumolpus.** If Triptolemus was an autochthon, all traditions agree in representing Eumolpus as a Thracian settler, though he is variously described as a warrior who came with a band, or as a priest who brought mystic rites, or again as a bard. By one account he arrived when Eleusis was at war with Athens. The prevalent tradition was that in the war, which was certainly a historical fact, Eumolpus was the Eleusinian captain. Two of his sons fell in the battle. Peace was concluded on the terms that the Eleusinians should perform the mysteries by themselves, but were in all other respects to be subject to Athens. These sacred rites were celebrated by Eumolpus and the daughters of Celeus. These later statements support the Homeric *Hymn* and show that from the first the local families had a great share in the rites. Triptolemus and Celeus are regarded as no longer alive, for in none of the versions do they take part in the war, the command of which falls to Eumolpus, which indicates that a foreign family had come in and by some great service had become more powerful than the old native family, and this new element had brought in new rites of its own.

This is confirmed by the priestly offices and the families which held them in classical times. The chief priest or hierophant was always a Eumolpid. He was vowed to chastity and was usually an elderly man. The family held the office until it became extinct about A. D. 380. The second priest was the Daduchus or Torchbearer, and he was always from the family of Triptolemus,[1] until it became

[1] Xen. *Hell.* vi. 3. 3.

extinct in the first part of the fourth century B. C. At that time the Lycomidae, to which Themistocles belonged, and who had at Phlya a family worship of Demeter, obtained the office. The third priest was the *Keryx*, chosen from the family of Ceryces, who by one story were descended from Ceryx, the younger son of Eumolpus, but by their own account were from Hermes and Aglaurus, daughter of Cecrops, the old Athenian king. There was a fourth priest called Epibomius, but no family had a monopoly of this office. There were several other minor officials, with whom we are not here concerned.

The evidence drawn from the great offices lead to the conclusion that from a remote antiquity the Eleusinian ceremonies comprised at least two sets of family cults, the one native, that of the family of Triptolemus, the other foreign, that of Thracian Eumolpus. In the fourth century B. C., when the Lycomidae succeeded to the office of Torchbearer on the extinction of the Triptolemidae, they probably brought from Phlya their own family cult of Demeter, which was possibly Orphic.

From the very important part played by the Triptolemidae in the political as well as in the religious life of Athens down to their extinction, we may fairly infer that the oldest element in the ceremonies was that which belonged to them, though their religious importance had been overshadowed by the descendants of Eumolpus, who had almost certainly brought in new rites.

The Sacred Precinct at Eleusis. Pausanias[1] saw a tomb which both Athenians and Eleusinians agreed was that of Eumolpus, and he states that there is a temple of Triptolemus, and another of Artemis Propylaea and of Father Poseidon, and a well called Callichoron, where the Eleusinian women first danced and sang in honour of the goddess. They say that the Rharian plain was the first to be sown and the first to bear crops, and therefore it is the custom to take the sacrificial barley and make cakes for the sacrifices out of its produce. Here is shown what is called the threshing-floor of Triptolemus and the altar. There is also a well called the flowery, where the daughters of Celeus first found Demeter sitting, and which therefore may be identified with the Virgins' Well of the *Hymn*. Though Pausanias makes no mention of either a theatre or a racecourse outside the precinct, yet we know from inscriptions that both existed, and that the stadium, in which doubtless were held the races (*δρόμοι σταδιακοί*, also mentioned in inscriptions), lay close to the theatre. To these games we shall presently return. Excavations have revealed outside

[1] i. 38. 2.

the precinct a beehive tomb, almost certainly the resting-place of one of the chieftain families, who were already there in the latter part of the Bronze Age. Inside the precinct there was found a grave with pottery of the so-called Mycenaean (Bronze Age) style, rude terra-cotta figures like those from Tiryns, Mycenae, and the Argive Heraeum, and also two gold plaques with Mycenaean decoration. The statuettes here found have been assumed by M. Foucart without sufficient evidence to be representations of Isis. There can be no doubt this precinct was the residence, burial-place, and family shrine of the chieftain family descended from Celeus and Triptolemus.

The old temple (*naos*) was burned by the Persians (480–479 B.C.). The new building was the work of Ictinus, the architect of the Parthenon. Close to the steps leading to the Great Propylaea built in Roman times was found an ancient well, with great probability identified as the Callichoron of Pausanias. Inside is the Small Propylaea, built on the site of a large tower. In front of this stood from the second century before Christ the temple of Artemis Propylaea and Father Poseidon. From the inside of this small portal a paved way led to the Telesterion, the Hall of Initiation, built in Roman times. On the west of this path lie the remains of a shrine of Pluto and Persephone, which cannot be earlier than the fifth century B.C., though much older remains have been found and also two votive reliefs, one of which was dedicated by a priest of Pluto, Persephone and Eubulus, brother of Triptolemus. The Telesterion was a vast hall supported by rows of columns with tiers of steps all round, on which the Initiated sat to watch the sacred performances. The excavations show that four smaller edifices all stood on the same site, two of the walls belonging to the archaic temple of the Homeric *Hymn*.

Now although the *Hymn* refers to a *naos* of Demeter, and though Pausanias saw a temple of Triptolemus, not a trace of any such separate temples has been discovered. Herodotus termed the principal building *Anaktoron* (King's House); Strabo indeed speaks of the sanctuary (*hieron*) of Demeter and the enclosure (*sekos*) of the *Mystae*, but this does not imply any separate temple of the goddess, but only a sacred precinct. As there are the remains of no less than five buildings on the site of the Telesterion, it follows that that spot seems to have always had on it the one and principal edifice, and accordingly it appears that Anaktoron, Megaron, and Telesterion were all names for the same building, or rather for the building which for the time being stood on the site of the 'King's House'. The

absence of separate temples for Demeter and Triptolemus can now be explained.

The literary and monumental evidence leads us to the following propositions: (1) There was a building termed the *naos* of Demeter which contained an altar to that goddess when the Homeric *Hymn* was written; (2) the Persians burned down the *Anaktoron* at Eleusis, but we are not told that this was specially the shrine of the goddess; (3) it is hard to dissociate this *Anaktoron* from the *Naos* of the Homeric *Hymn*; (4) Pausanias makes no mention of any *naos* of Demeter, nor does any other writer or any inscription yet discovered point to any such building in the classical period; (5) the Telesterion, called also the Megaron and the Anaktoron, must be regarded as the only edifice actually devoted to the service of Demeter and Persephone; (6) that of later times was built on the same site as the Anaktoron burned by the Persians; (7) the chief *naos* mentioned by Pausanias he ascribes to Triptolemus, but of this not a trace has been found either inside or outside the precinct; (8) there is one solution for this problem, first proposed by the present writer,[1] it is that the Naos or Megaron, or Anaktoron or Telesterion, was the joint property of Demeter and Triptolemus. This is exactly analogous to the oldest temple at Athens, which in the *Iliad* is termed the *Naos* of Athena, in which she set the hero Erechtheus, 'whom the youths of the Athenians propitiated with bulls and rams,' whilst in the *Odyssey* the same building is termed 'the strong house of Erechtheus', i. e. the fortress of the Acropolis, to which Athena returned after her visit to Scheria. As has been shown by Sir James Frazer, in inscriptions this famous shrine, the oldest at Athens, is regularly termed 'the temple (*neos*) of the Polias', 'the old temple of the Polias', 'the old temple of Athena', or 'the old temple of Athena Polias', whilst in the literature from the time of Demosthenes and in Pausanias it is styled the Erechtheum, 'the house or the shrine of Erechtheus.' In its east end Athena was worshipped, in its west stood a common altar of Erechtheus and Poseidon, the ancestor of the royal house of Athens. As at Eleusis there is the ancient fortress, the grave of its ancient lord within the precinct, and a beehive tomb without, so beside the Erechtheum was the tomb of Cecrops, whilst within the temple itself may have been the grave of Erechtheus. As the cult of Athena Polias first began in the palace of the Athenian chieftain, on the Acropolis, where his descendants the Eteobutadae continued to be the priests of Erechtheus and Poseidon and the priestesses of Athena to the last, so at Eleusis in the Homeric *Hymn* Triptolemus

[1] *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xxxi (1911), p. xlix.

is represented in conjunction with Eumolpus as setting up the worship of Demeter. But we may have no doubt that the descendants of Triptolemus as long as they survived acted also as the priests of that hero, since an inscription presently to be cited (p. 35) will show that sacrifices were made to both Triptolemus and his brother Eubulus, whilst a later inscription (329–328 B. C.) proves that Eubulus shared a priest with Pluto and Persephone.

The grave found within the sacred precinct with its Bronze Age offerings points clearly to an ancient cult of the dead. We may therefore conclude with high probability that at Eleusis, from the Bronze Age downwards, there was the worship of a local hero or heroes, whose *Anaktoron* (King's house) under various names became *the* temple of later times, and whose remains may have lain in the grave inside the precinct, whilst it is not unlikely that the beehive tomb outside the precinct was the grave which both Athenians and Eleusinians agreed was that of Eumolpus. It is improbable that by the time of Pausanias the beehive tomb had been covered up, and it was probably this remarkable sepulchre which was pointed out to him as that of the Thracian settler. The well-ascertained facts that the great extension of the Telesterion and the building of the great portals took place in Roman times point unequivocally to the conclusion that the development of the Mysteries on a large scale did not take place earlier than the fifth century B. C., and probably very much later. If it should turn out that certain features in the long series of ceremonies point clearly in the same direction, it may ultimately be made probable that the great festival of Eleusis originated, like those of Olympia, Delphi, Nemea, and the Isthmus, in some local cult of the dead.

Let us now return to Demeter, the supposed Corn spirit. The *Hymn*, however, nowhere states that she was the first to give corn to Eleusis or to the rest of the world. Moreover, the 'sacred threshing-floor' at Eleusis mentioned both by Pausanias and in an inscription is termed not the threshing-floor of Demeter, as it ought to have been, were she from primitive times the Corn spirit, but the threshing-floor of Triptolemus, who is thus regarded as the patron saint of the local agriculturists, just as we shall find an historical king in Burma, and the local gods in China and Japan, who are well known to have been human personages, playing the same part in our day.

If it can be shown that the worship of the dead was the oldest, or at least one of the oldest, parts of the rites at Eleusis, and, furthermore, if we can find a place to which the Eleusinian rites had been

brought, and it should turn out that the cult of the dead was there a central feature, we shall have gone far to prove that the rites of Demeter were to propitiate the dead, and to seek their favour for the crops by offering them the firstfruits as is being done at this hour in numerous regions under the sun.

At Pheneus in Arcadia there was a sanctuary of Demeter surnamed Eleusinian, and they celebrated mysteries in her honour, alleging that rites similar to those of Eleusis were instituted in their land. 'Beside the altar in the sanctuary of the Eleusinian goddess is what is called the Petroma—two great stones fitted to each other. Every second year, when they are celebrating what they call the Greater Mysteries, they open these stones, and taking out of them certain writings, which bear on the Mysteries, they read in the hearing of the Initiated and put them back in their place the same night.[1] On the weightiest matters the Pheneatians swear by the Petroma. There is a round top on it, which contains a mask of Demeter Cydarea. This mask the priest puts on his face at the Greater Mysteries and smites the underground folk (ὑποχθόνιοι) with rods.' There can be no doubt that these underground folk are the dead, and we shall find numerous facts to show that the wearing of such masks is a regular feature at this hour in ceremonies connected with the propitiation of the dead. But let us return to Eleusis itself and its ceremonials in the historical period.

We have already pointed to the existence of the Bronze Age grave inside the precinct as evidence of a cult of the dead. Let us now survey concisely the various elements in the great festival as we know them in historical times. With the facts before us we shall then be in a better position to test the relative antiquity of the various parts. There were both the Lesser and the Greater Mysteries. The former were an outcome of the rites of Eleusis and were set up at Athens probably about 600–590 B.C., possibly on the advice of Epimenides. They were held at the end of February or the beginning of March, the actual day being uncertain. With them we have here nothing to do.

The Greater Mysteries. As we are not here concerned with the preliminaries held at Athens and the procession from thence to Eleusis bearing the playthings of Iacchus, both of which must be later than the planting of the Eleusinian cult at Athens some time after 600 B.C., we shall proceed at once to the ceremonies at Eleusis. (1) On the 20th of Boedromion about midnight the Iacchic procession arrived. (2) Next morning swine were sacrificed to Demeter and offerings were also made to Hermes Enagonios ('presiding over

[1] Paus. viii. 15. 1–2.

games '), the Charites, Artemis, and Triptolemus. (3) The 22nd and 23rd were the days of the Mysteries and the ceremonies were held at night. The evening of the 22nd was probably the λαμπάδων ἡμέρα, 'the Day of the Torches,' symbolical of the search for Persephone by her mother, with torches, as related in the *Hymn*, and which seems thus to have been the oldest dramatic element in the rites. This was apparently performed by and for the novices (*Narthekophoroi*), who made the symbolical quest crowned with myrtle, wearing fawn-skins, and carrying wands. It has been supposed that the drama of the quest for Persephone by her mother was presented in the great hall on this night, but it is not certain. (4) This was followed by the partaking of the sacred posset (*kukeon*) of barley meal and water flavoured with mint in memory of the refreshing of Demeter after her long vain search when she came to Eleusis, as stated in the *Hymn*. (5) Then came the handling of the sacred objects by the faithful. These seem to have been exhibited by the Hierophantes (The Shower of Sacred Things), and in answer to his interrogation the neophyte replied, 'I have fasted, I have drunk the posset, I have taken from the chest, I have put back into the basket and from the basket into the chest.' What these relics or objects were we are not told; our only authority for this is Clement of Alexandria. The ceremonies on the 23rd seem to have been much the same. But they were especially given up to the *Bacchi*, the more highly initiated, usually termed *Epoptae*. These probably also looked upon, or touched sacred symbols or relics, and to the priest's questions uttered the response, 'I have eaten from the tambourine, I have drunk from the cymbal, I have carried the *kernos*, I have passed within the veil.' There is a doubt whether this ritual belongs to the Great or Lesser Mysteries, but the facts point to the former.

According to Athenaeus the *Kernos* was an earthenware vessel, having many little cups fastened within, in which were white poppies, wheat, barley, pulse, vetch, *ochroi*, lentils, and it was carried after the fashion of the *liknon* (winnowing-fan). In another passage he gives a fuller list from Polemon, in which are included sage, beans, spelt, oats, a cake, honey, oil, wine, milk, unwashed sheep's wool. There seems little doubt that we have here offerings of all sorts of firstfruits (παγκαρπία).

That firstfruits were offered at the Greater Mysteries is put beyond all doubt by an Eleusinian inscription[1] found at Eleusis itself and dating from before the Peloponnesian War (431 B.C.): 'Let the Hierophantes and the *Dadouchos* command that at the mysteries

[1] Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, No. 13.

the Hellenes shall offer firstfruits (ἀπαρχαί) of the crops in accordance with ancestral usage. To those who do these things many blessings will come, both good and plenteous crops, whoever of them do not injure the Athenians nor the city of Athens nor the goddesses.' But this is not the only point on which this inscription is of the first importance. It also recites the personages to whom offerings are to be made out of the firstfruits: 'to each of the two goddesses a cow, three years old, with her horns gilded, a victim without blemish, each to Triptolemus, to the god and the goddess (i.e. Pluto and Persephone), to Eubulus (the brother of Triptolemus), and a cow with gilded horns to Athenaia.' Let us observe that there is not a word about Zeus, who according to the prevalent view was the consort of Demeter from the most primitive times at Eleusis and whose supposed union with her as performed in the centuries after Christ is assumed to have been the central part of the ritual from the remotest age. Yet surely, if the fertility of the earth depended upon her union with Zeus, it was not merely ungrateful, but very imprudent of the Priest of Eleusis to exclude deliberately the Sky-god from any share of the firstfruits in the production of which he is assumed to have been all-important. No wonder, then, that when the present writer pointed out this fatal defect in M. Foucart's and Miss Harrison's doctrine of the Sacred Marriage, with characteristic candour Sir James Frazer at once gave up the theory, and, in spite of my friend Mr. F. M. Cornford's efforts to bolster it up,[1] has omitted it from his third edition of the *Golden Bough*, though still adhering to his view that Demeter was the Corn spirit, a doctrine which, as we have seen, is contrary to the evidence of our oldest document, the Homeric *Hymn*.

[1] *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway on his Sixtieth Birthday*, 1913, pp. 153–66 ('The ἀπαρχαί and the Eleusinian Mysteries'). Mr. Cornford thinks that in the *siroi* mentioned in the inscription cited above, i.e. the cornpits for storing the tithe-corn, corresponding to our Old English 'tithe-barns', he has an analogy to the *mundus* lately discovered at Rome by my brilliant friend Comm. Boni. He next identifies the well Callichoron at Eleusis as a *siros*, and thinks that the *aparchai* were ceremonially placed in this or at least the portion preserved for seed for the next year (of which there is no proof), where it lay from harvest to the Eleusinia, which he supposes (again without proof) to be a festival to inaugurate the sowing for the next year. The corn stored from harvest to the beginning of October, he thinks, was Persephone, and that the opening of the *Siros* was the Anodos or Coming-up of the goddess to the upper world. But as Pausanias compares the well Callichoron with the Flowery Well where the maidens drew water, he evidently regarded the Callichoron as a true well for water, as has been also proved by its excavation. To store up the seed corn for the next year in a well of water would certainly have astounded Demeter and Triptolemus.

On the afternoon of the last day of the Mysteries (23rd) was held a function of great significance, probably far older than the performances of the preceding days. This was termed the *Plemochoai*, and it was beyond doubt an offering to the dead, such as the *Choai* at the *Anthesteria*. The *plemochoe* was a small cup shaped like an inverted top. Two of these were used, one filled with wine, the other with water, the contents of the one being thrown to the east, of the other to the west, whilst according to some the mystic words *hue, kue* ('make rain, conceive') were uttered, but of this there is no proof.

This concluded the Mysteries proper, just as the more drastic method of bidding farewell to the dead by beating the ground with rods ended the Eleusinian rites at Pheneus.

There is not a word about Zeus or Dionysus, either as Zagreus or Iacchus. It therefore follows that not only had Zeus no cult there in the fifth century B.C., an inference confirmed by the fact that he had no separate cult or shrine there in the time of Pausanias (A.D. 180), and that although there was by that time a temple to a Father god, that building which seems to be not older than the second century B.C. was shared by Artemis Propylaea with Father Poseidon and not Father Zeus. It therefore follows that the cults of Zeus, Iacchus, Zagreus, and Dionysus were not indigenous at Eleusis, but were later additions, like those of Artemis, Poseidon, and Hermes, all being introduced posterior to 350 B.C.

Next let us examine further the personages to whom offerings were made in the fifth century B.C. First come the two goddesses, then next in order Triptolemus, then follow another divine pair, the god and the goddess, then Eubulus, brother of Triptolemus, and finally Athena herself. Her place at the end is explained by her having been added to the ancient Eleusinian list after the conquest of Eleusis by Athens and the sharing of the Mysteries between both communities. Two pairs of divine personages are now left, each pair being immediately followed by a hero, the two goddesses by Triptolemus, Pluto and Persephone by Eubulus. But we have seen that apart from the temple shared by Artemis and Poseidon there were only two buildings used for cult purposes, the *Anaktoron* shared, if we are right, between the two goddesses and Triptolemus, and the small temple shared between Pluto, Persephone, and Eubulus. But it may be taken as a sound principle that when a hero or heroine is found sharing a temple or a festival with a great divinity, the temple or festival has originally belonged to the hero or heroine, and that the cult of the greater personage has been superimposed upon it, for no

one will plant the cult of some minor hero or heroine upon that of a great deity. As the oldest name for the Telesterion seems to have been the King's House (*Anaktoron*), we may infer that Demeter and Persephone were there later than Triptolemus, and similarly we may infer that in the small temple Eubulus was worshipped before Pluto and Persephone. Thus the oldest objects of cult in the sacred precinct were the native heroes.

There is yet another remarkable fact presented by the list of personages. Neither Eumolpus nor any one of his family has any share in the firstfruits. This bears out all the traditions that Eumolpus was a stranger from Thrace who came with certain *orgia*, that he played a leading part in the struggle with Athens, and that accordingly his family got the chief power, as is proved by the fact that the chief priesthood, that of the Hierophantes, remained in his family far into the Christian era. This absence of any cult of Eumolpus harmonizes admirably with the view that the beehive tomb outside the precinct, which, if I am right, was that seen by Pausanias also outside, was that which the Athenians and Eleusinians agreed in calling the tomb of Eumolpus. All these facts and inferences harmonize completely with our oldest document the *Hymn*, which represents Triptolemus and Celeus as the chief figures at Eleusis, and barley as already growing plentifully on the Rharian plain and in common use before Demeter came, and which represents her as bringing the certain *orgia*, which she entrusted to Triptolemus and Eumolpus. Moreover, local tradition made the sacred threshing-floor belong to Triptolemus and not to the goddess. All these facts point clearly to there being two cults at Eleusis, the oldest that of the ancient chieftain family connected with the grave found in the precinct, the other the cult of Demeter, also connected with the dead brought in at a later time by Eumolpus from Thrace and superimposed on the family rites of the Triptolemidae, who continued to be the Torchbearers down to their extinction. If it should now turn out that not only were the rites of Demeter connected closely with the worship of the dead, and that Triptolemus and his brother Eubulus had a share of the firstfruits, and that accordingly there was also a second cult of the dead, but that the funerary ceremonies which ended the Mysteries proper were succeeded by a sham-fight and athletic contests, the cumulative evidence will go far to establish that the Eleusinian mysteries arose out of the cult of the dead, and not out of the worship of a Corn, Vine, or any other abstract Vegetation spirit, or of the Egyptian Isis.

The Sham-Fight. On the next morning (24th) the *Balletus* probably

took place.[1] This was a sort of sham-fight possibly enjoined by the Homeric *Hymn*,[2] which resembled the *Lithobolia*[3] at the festival of Demia and Auxesis at Troezen. Lenormant saw in the word *Balletus* a derivative from the herb *balis* as a symbol of resurrection. But from what we have seen already, the reader will hardly accept this fantastic suggestion, which has no basis in fact.

The Games. On the morning of the 24th and also in the afternoon were held the Eleusinian Games (ἀγῶνες σταδιακοί), doubtless in the *stadion*. These were the contests celebrated by Pindar, and which tradition declared to be the oldest in Greece. They were still a famous race-meeting far down into Roman Imperial times. They were termed the *Eleusinia*, and they are described by a scholiast on Pindar as being held 'after the gathering of the fruits of Demeter and as a thank-offering to her'. The prize was a measure of barley from the Rharian plain. A. Mommsen long ago acutely remarked that the name *Eleusinia*, which in classical times included the whole festival, and especially came to connote the Mysteries, was originally nothing more than the name of the games. He also saw that the term *Demetriaka* ('of Demeter') was probably a late addition. Elsewhere I have pointed out various instances in which the name of a great hero or of a god was given to festivals which had originated in the worship of local heroes. Thus in later times the *Iolaea* at Thebes were also termed the *Heracleia*, the games of Heracles, whilst the *Tlepolemeia* held at Lindus in Rhodes in honour of Tlepolemus were later termed the 'games of the Sun' (*Helieia*). Originally the Eleusinian games seem to have been annual and to have lasted two days, but in the later period they were overshadowed by the theatrical representations given by the 'artists of Dionysus', which were held on the 25th, thus leaving only one day for the games. Were these games from the first in honour of Demeter and her daughter? If so, it is strange that there is no mention of them in the Homeric *Hymn*, but only of the institution of the *orgia* in her honour. The same poem, as we have seen, regards barley as antecedent to Demeter and Triptolemus as the leading personage of the place, whilst his name was also linked with the sacred threshing-floor, the chief memorial of the discovery of corn. Now as the prize in the Eleusinian games was a measure of barley from the Rharian plain with which Triptolemus in later legends is so bound up, and with which the goddess is never associated, we are led to the conclusion that the games were not originally held in honour of Demeter, but in that

[1] Athen., 406 D, 407 C; Hesych., *s.v.*; it is also termed τυπταί.
[2] 267–8.
[3] Paus. ii. 32. 2.

of Triptolemus, who shared with Demeter his *Anaktoron*. As we found a close parallel to this last feature in the relation between Athena and Erechtheus in the Erechtheum at Athens, so too have we a like parallel between the Panathenaic games and the Eleusinian. The former were held in honour of Athena and Erechtheus. But, as we have seen before, when a lesser personage is found sharing with the greater such an honour, we infer that, like Iolaus and Tlepolemus, he was originally the sole owner. We may therefore safely conclude that Erechtheus and not Athena was originally the object of the Athenaic, called later the Panathenaic, games. If Triptolemus shared his house with Demeter as Erechtheus did his with Athena, why should not Triptolemus also share his games with Demeter as Erechtheus did with Athena ?

Theatrical Performances. In later times theatrical performances seem to have taken up the second day of the Games (25th). The plays were part of the service, and the performers became a kind of priests. Dionysus had such a priest Actor, and even Antinous, the favourite of Hadrian, another such. The plays were held on the 26th and 27th, and possibly in the latest period on the 28th.

Let us now remove the later accretions from the ceremonials at Eleusis—all the preliminaries at Athens and the procession to Eleusis from the first part, and from the end the dramatic performances given by the ' artists of Dionysus ' in later days—which included the Sacred Marriage of Zeus and Demeter, their chief feature in Christian times. The elements now left consist of the dramatization of Demeter's vain search with torches for her lost daughter, the offerings to the dead, the sham-fight, and the Games. In other words, a regular funerary celebration, such as those common in Greece and Thrace, and of which we shall find many examples amongst the Assamese, Japanese, and other races of to-day. But we have found reason for believing that two cults had been combined at Eleusis, the family rites of the descendants of Triptolemus, and the *orgia* of Demeter brought in by Eumolpus and celebrated by the Eumolpidae. We also saw that the Eleusinian rites borrowed by the Pheneatians were distinctly connected with the cult of the dead. Now, as the firstfruits were offered to Demeter and Persephone, and to Triptolemus and his brother Eubulus, the essence of both celebrations consisted in the veneration of the dead, and accordingly the element common to each was the *Plemochoai*. As we proceed, we shall find the strongest evidence for believing that the firstfruits are offered to the dead, not to abstract Corn spirits, which only arise at a later stage from the generalization of some local hero or heroine. This we shall

find true of various Corn mothers, Maize mothers, Harvest and Food goddesses. Here is not the place for treating of Demeter at length. Let it suffice to say, as I have tried to show elsewhere, that the beautiful myth of Demeter the All-mother had as its foundation the dead body of many a human mother.[1]

Dieterich's Theory of Tragedy. In 1907 the late Professor Albrecht Dieterich[2] put forward the theory that Greek Tragedy had arisen out of the Mysteries of Eleusis, urging that as Aeschylus was himself a native of that deme he had simply developed his tragic art out of the sacred dramas of his native place. His follower, Professor G. G. Murray,[3] thus describes this theory: 'He has shown that the characteristic of the *Sacer Ludus* in the Mysteries was a Peripeteia or Reversal. It was a change from sorrow to joy, from darkness and sights of inexplicable terror to light and the discovery of the reborn god. Such a Peripeteia is clearly associated with an Anagnorisis, a Recognition or Discovery. Such formulae from the Mysteries as *θαρσεῖτε, Μύσται, τοῦ θεοῦ σεσωσμένου—Ηὑρήκαμεν, συγχαίρωμεν—Ἔφυγον κακόν, ηὗρον ἄμεινον* imply a close connexion between the Peripeteia and the Anagnorisis, and enable us to understand why these two elements are regarded by Aristotle as normally belonging to Tragedy. Now Peripeteia of some kind is perhaps in itself a necessary or normal part of any dramatic story, but no one could say the same of Anagnorisis. It must come into Greek tragedy from the *Sacer Ludus*, in which the dead God is Recognized or Discovered. So far Dieterich. But we may go much further than this.'

I have deliberately given Dieterich's view in the words of his follower, because I am thus free from any suspicion of wresting his meaning. Now his theory rests entirely on the assumption that the sacred drama at Eleusis, in which were enacted the marriage of Zeus and Demeter and the birth of the child, was already the central point in the Mysteries of that place before the birth of Aeschylus in 525 B.C. But as we have demonstrated that Zeus had no part in the cults of that sacred place until after the Christian era, and that Zagreus had no connexion with it until after 370 B.C., it is absurd to assume that Aeschylus based his tragic art on the sacred drama which only arose in Roman times when the great poet had been in his grave for more than five centuries. Indeed, the

[1] Gifford Lectures, delivered at Aberdeen, 1909–11.

[2] 'Die Entstehung der Tragödie' (*Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, vol. xi, 1908, pp. 163–96); *Kleine Werke* (1911), pp. 414–39.

[3] Miss Harrison's *Themis*, pp. 341–2.

ancients themselves held that so far from Aeschylus borrowing from the priestly performances at Eleusis, the latter borrowed from him. Thus Athenaeus[1] tells us that 'Aeschylus invented the beautiful dignified robe (of Tragedy) which the Hierophants and the Daduchi copied and still wear'.

But even those who hailed Dieterich's theory (as they do everything else from Germany) as 'epoch-making' and accepted his fundamental assumption of the primitive *Sacer Ludus* of Zeus and Demeter at Eleusis, felt its insubstantiality on minor points. Thus Mr. Pickard-Cambridge, who in his long review of my *Origin of Tragedy*[2] in which after a vain struggle he gave up the old orthodox theory, yet thinks that 'there is some prospect of a solution on somewhat different lines from those on which Professor Ridgeway works—a consideration of the Dionysiac worship itself in its chthonian aspect', was nevertheless 'not ready to adopt Dieterich's suggestions as they stand', but rested his hopes on the followers of Dieterich, i. e. 'on the general assumption that the chthonian and theromorphic beings, vegetation spirits and the like, are prior to the belief in the existence of the spirits of the dead'. But as Aeschylus, who certainly knew more about 'chthonian aspects' than Dieterich and Mr. Pickard-Cambridge, held that they were the dead,[3] the 'chthonian' path on which Mr. Cambridge blindly entered led him straight to my theory—that tragedy arose in the worship of the dead. Again, Professor Murray says that 'we can go much further than Dieterich' (and as we shall see, probably fare still worse); he himself and by implication his collaborators Miss Harrison and Mr. Cornford feel the difficulty that whereas in the late sacred drama at Eleusis on which their whole theory depends, the Reversal was from fear to joy, when it was announced to the Mystae that the mother had been safely delivered and that the god was reborn, on the other hand the essence of Tragedy is a Reversal from happiness to sorrow. This obvious weakness has led Professor Murray and his partners (in whom Mr. Cambridge fondly trusts) to a theory, or rather a modification of Dieterich's theory, of the origin of Tragedy still further detached, if possible, from fact than that of their master.

Professor Murray's Theory of Tragedy. This latest theory of the origin of Tragedy—a mere modification of the Sun-myth, Vegetation spirit, and Seasonal drama—with which we have already dealt in the

[1] i. 39 E: *καὶ Αἰσχύλος δὲ οὐ μόνον ἐξεῦρε τὴν τῆς στολῆς εὐπρέπειαν καὶ σεμνότητα, ἣν ζηλώσαντες οἱ ἱεροφάνται καὶ δᾳδοῦχοι ἀμφιέννυνται, κτλ.*

[2] *Classical Review*, March 1912, with my reply, *ibid.*, June 1912, pp. 134–9.

[3] *Suppl.* 24–5: *βαρύτιμοι χθόνιοι θήκας κατέχοντες.*

case of Dr. Farnell, is set forth in Miss J. E. Harrison's *Themis*,[1] to which Mr. F. M. Cornford and Professor G. G. Murray have each contributed a chapter. Miss Harrison draws her inspiration from Sir James Frazer, from Professor Murray's *Rise of the Greek Epic* (based in its turn on the theories of Drs. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and Bethe), from Professor Bergson's philosophy, from the psychology of primitive ritual as expounded by Drs. Durkheim, Hubert, and Mauss, and from the *mana* theory of Dr. R. R. Marett. She starts with the birth-story of Zeus in Crete in the newly-found hymn to the Curetes, in which Zeus is termed *Kouros*. This she assumes always means a *youth*, though it just as often, if not more often, means a *child* or a *babe*. As Zeus *the Kouros* is attended by his Curetes, so is Dionysus by his *Thiasos*. Miss Harrison proceeds to the death and rebirth of Zagreus in the Mysteries, assuming that this is primitive, although, as we have seen, Zagreus does not appear in the Mysteries of Eleusis until after 370 B.C., whilst as in the case of the Sacred Marriage she relies on the statement of Christian writers who describe the practices and beliefs of their own time, thus her sole evidence for the Zagreus story is that of Clement of Alexandria. On the strength of this she essays to explain the ritual of death and rebirth by primitive rites of tribal initiation of youths at puberty,[2] in use amongst the aborigines of Australia. She also assumes that early Greek society was matrilinear, totemistic, and had no gods, all their religion being comprised in the supposed tribal mysteries of which we have spoken, that the essence of these was the death and rebirth of the initiated *Kouros*, and the continuous life of their tribe: it is further assumed that at this stage there is no individualism, self-consciousness, or desire for a separate immortality. The initiated *Kouroi*, following the Megistos Kouros, cherish certain *choses sacrées*, such as totem animals, thunderbolts, bull-roarers, and the like, from which they derive *mana*, and with which they perform magic, not as a *mimesis*, but as a 'fore-doing' of the things they desired.

Group-thinking might project into the *chose sacrée*, or evolve from it a *daimon*, who by dying and rising again reflected the life of Nature and of the tribe, and in turn out of the *daimon* might be projected a *theos*, who got rid of his totem-form, refused the privileges of a recurring death, rose to the sky, claimed immortality, and was thereby, if he separated himself from his *thiasos*, 'doomed to desiccate and die'. The Kouros Megistos is thus nothing more than the projection of the Kouretes into a *chose sacrée*. Miss Harrison contemns

[1] Cambridge, 1912. [2] *Themis*, p. 124.

the Olympian gods, who play so great a part in Homer, and she declares that he marks a stage when collective thinking and magic ritual are, if not dead, at least dying, when rationalism and the individualistic thinking to which it belongs are developed to a point not far behind that of the days of Pericles. Homer's attitude towards religion was sceptical, Ionian. What is meant by the individualism of Homer is seen very clearly in the case of the *Androktasiai* or '*Manslayings*'. Dr. Bethe has shown beyond the possibility of a doubt that the superabundant *Androktasiai*, which appear as single combats in the *Iliad*, really reflect not the fights of individual heroes at Troy, but the conflicts of tribes on the mainland of Greece. But I may remark parenthetically that Dr. Bethe has no more proved this for Homer than he has for the numerous 'manslayings' in Froissart's descriptions of Crécy and Poitiers. 'When the tribes', she proceeds, 'who waged this warfare on the mainland pass in the long series of migrations to Asia Minor and the Islands, the local sanctities, from which they are cut loose, are forgotten, and local *daimones*, eponymous heroes, and the like become individualized. Saga-heroes, Achilles, and Alexandros are tribal heroes—that is, collective conceptions of conflicting tribes of Thessaly. Hector, before, not after he went to Troy, was a hero-daemon in Boeotian Thebes; his comrade Melanippus had a cult in Thebes; Patroclus, whom he slew, was his near neighbour—like him, a local *daimon*. It is the life-stories of heroes such as these, cut loose by the migrations from their local cults, from their monotonous periodicity, that are the material of Attic drama, that forms its 'free and plastic plots'.[1] As we have already shown (p. 13) the untenable character of such theories of heroes, it is unnecessary to repeat the arguments here.

Miss Harrison then passes to the Dithyrambos,[2] the Dromenon, and the Drama. In Dionysus, to whom Euripides in his *Bacchae* (one of his latest plays and written in Thrace) applied the name *Dithyrambos*, with the meaning of 'twice through the door' or 'twice-born', she finds the Kouros and concludes not only that the Dithyrambos reflects the rite of rebirth, the Bacchants the mothers of a matriarchal society, and that Dionysus reflects his *thiasos* as the Megistos Kouros reflects his Kouretes, but that the Dithyrambos, like the Hymn of the Kouretes, is not only a song of human rebirth, it is the song of the rebirth of all Nature, all living things; it is the 'Spring Song for the Year-Feast'. Elsewhere she states: 'The dithyramb, we have seen, is a Birth-song, a δρώμενον giving rise to

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 335. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 202–4.

the divine figures of Mother, Full-grown Son, and Child ; it is a spring-song of magical fertility for the new year ; it is a group-song, a κύκλιος χορός, later sung by a *thiasos*, a song of those who leap and dance rhythmically together.' She then adopts Mr. A. B. Cook's fantastic guess for the etymology of Dithyrambos, 'Zeus-leap-song', the song that makes Zeus leap or beget. 'Our Hymn of the Kouretes', she says, is '*the Dithyramb*'. 'The Dithyrambos is a bull-god reborn into his tribe, not only as a full-grown male, but as a sacred beast.' Her argument thus depends upon both the derivation of Dithyrambus given by Euripides and that given by Mr. Cook. But if one of them is right, the other must be wrong. As proof of this supposed spring festival of Dionysus she cites a Dithyrambic Paean to Dionysus recently discovered at Delphi, and a well-known fragment of Pindar, in both of which there are allusions to the season of spring ; and finally she cites the well-known invocation of the Elean women to Dionysus : 'Come, O hero Dionysus,' which Mr. Cook has obligingly emended into 'Come in the *spring*, O Dionysus'.[1] She further adds that boys at puberty were initiated at this Year-Feast into a tribal mystery or Dromenon, and that out of this sprang the Drama. But there is not a scrap of evidence to show that in any state in ancient Greece boys were initiated at festivals, either in the Spring or at any other time. At Athens they certainly were not initiated at any of the four festivals connected with the name of Dionysus, two of which fell in the Spring. There was, however, a most ancient Ionic festival, the *Apaturia*, on the third day of which, termed *Koureotis*, fathers took the children born in that year, or such as were not registered, and introduced them to the assembled members of their respective Phratries, a victim being offered for each child. But so far from this festival taking its name from Kouroi initiated at the age of puberty, it derived its appellation from babes ; and so far from being held in the Spring, it was celebrated on the 13th of Pyanepsion, i.e. the last days of October or the first days of November.

Again, festivals of Dionysus were not confined to Spring, as Miss Harrison assumes. Thus it was at midwinter that the Cynaethians of Arcadia held their famous festival in honour of Dionysus, which best illustrates Pindar's phrase 'the ox-driving dithyramb of Dionysus'.[2] For the men with their bodies greased with oil picked out

[1] Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* xxxvi : ἐλθεῖν ἥρῳ Διόννσε κτλ., which Mr. Cook, on the ground that this voc. of ἥρως is not found elsewhere, emends into ἐλθεῖν ἦρ' ὦ Διόννσε.

[2] Paus. viii. 19. 15 ; Ridgeway, *Origin of Tragedy*, p. 6.

from a herd of cattle 'that bull which the god put into their heads to take, lifted him up bodily and carried him into the shrine for sacrifice'.

The Dithyramb. As all theories of the origin of Tragedy take as their starting-point Aristotle's statement that 'Tragedy arose from the leaders of the dithyramb', it is essential to ascertain what he meant by that term. Strange as it may seem, no scholar before the present writer essayed to settle this question. All writers had assumed that Aristotle regarded the dithyramb as peculiar to and restricted to Dionysus, and in reality the Dionysiac theory of the origin of Tragedy depends on this passage, the references to the Satyric drama and Satyric style which occurs a few lines lower down, and on some half-dozen references to the dithyramb in other authors. Let us first take the scattered references: (1) Archilochus (670 B.C.) declares that when 'his brain is thunder-smitten with wine he knows how to lead a fair strain in honour of king Dionysus, a dithyramb', but he does not say that when sober he would not have sung a dithyramb in honour of some other god or hero; (2) Arion trained a chorus at Corinth in the time of Periander to sing a dithyramb, but this does not prove that he did not or would not have composed dithyrambs on other heroes or gods; (3) this last view is supported by the fact that Simonides (born 567 B.C.) in the generation after Arion wrote a dithyramb on the hero Memnon; and (4) that Bacchylides, his nephew and younger contemporary, composed two dithyrambs on Theseus and one on Apollo; (5) Pindar in an allusion to Arion's dithyramb at Corinth speaks of the 'ox-driving dithyramb of Dionysus', but, as I have pointed out elsewhere, this phrase only refers to such a custom as that of the Cynaethians (*supra*, p. 44) and does not prove that Pindar thought that the dithyramb belonged only to Dionysus; (6) Pratinas, who introduced the Satyric drama into Athens, termed Dionysus *Thriambo-Dithyrambos*; and (7) Euripides called him *Dithyrambos*. But in the recently-found Delphic 'Dithyrambic Paean' on which Miss Harrison builds so much, Dionysus is termed *Paean*. Yet on the strength of this neither she nor any one else would venture to maintain that the *paean* as a literary form belonged exclusively to Dionysus, for it was composed in honour of Apollo, Artemis, and various other gods. (8) Finally, Miss Harrison relies most on a passage in Plato,[1] in which, when discussing the various kinds of odes, he says: 'some are prayers to the gods, and these are termed *hymnoi*; others of an opposite sort might best be called *threnoi*; another sort *paeans*, and

[1] *Legg.* 700 B.

another—the birth of Dionysus, I suppose (*οἶμαι*), is termed *dithyrambos*.' His remark (' I suppose ') shows that he is not at all clear on the point. In view, therefore, of these *loci classici*, we must conclude that at no time was the *dithyramb* any more the exclusive property of Dionysus than the *paean* was that of Apollo.

But what did Aristotle mean by the dithyramb from which he says that Tragedy arose ? His words make it clear that he knew only of *one* kind of dithyramb, for he does not say that Tragedy arose from the worship of Dionysus either here or elsewhere in his voluminous writings, nor does he say that it arose from the dithyramb of Dionysus, or from the ancient dithyramb, or from the dithyramb of Archilochus or from that of Arion. Now, as all modern scholars admit the soundness of the principle by which difficulties in an author's meaning or in his use of words should, if possible, be explained from his own writings, it is important to discover what meaning Aristotle attached to the term *dithyrambos*. Did he regard it as restricted to Dionysus or as common to gods and heroes, as was certainly the view of Simonides and Bacchylides in the end of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth centuries B.C. ? Fortunately we have the means of forming an opinion, and that too not from his other writings but from very definite passages in the *Poetic* itself.[1] Just a page before the famous passage with which we are dealing, he describes[2] *dithyramboi* as a kind of *Mimesis*, and cites as an example of that form of literature the *Cyclops* of Timotheus, the famous dithyrambic poet and musician of Miletus (447–357 B.C.), who wrote some eighteen dithyrambs on various subjects, including one called the *Pang of Semele*. It may be said that the *Cyclops* was Dionysiac, since Euripides' play of that name was Satyric, but let us turn to another passage,[3] some five pages after that on the origin of Tragedy. He is discussing the question of *ēthos* in Tragedy and the need of consistency in the characters. As a breach of this rule, he cites the *threnos* of Odysseus in the *Scylla*, which was beyond doubt a dithyramb, and that too by Timotheus. It is therefore clear that Timotheus wrote dithyrambs on heroes, and not merely on Dionysus. It is also certain that Aristotle only knew one class of dithyrambs, *the* dithyramb, and that as he cites as examples of it the dithyrambs of Timotheus, which were addressed, like those of Simonides and Bacchylides, to heroes, as well as to Dionysus, he held that the dithyramb had for its themes heroes and gods other than Dionysus.

[1] W. Ridgeway, ' Three Notes on *Poetic* of Aristotle ' (*Classical Quarterly*, 1912, pp. 241–2).

[2] *Poetic*, 1448 *a* 14.

[3] 1454 *a* 30.

Aristotle thus held that Tragedy sprang from a dithyramb which was not restricted to Dionysus, but was common to heroes and gods, and as such included Dionysus (termed *Heros*, as well as *theos*) amongst its themes. It cannot therefore be assumed any longer that because Aristotle makes Tragedy arise out of the *dithyramb* it therefore arose from the worship of Dionysus.

But it may be said that we do not know what Aristotle meant by heroes and gods. Yet there is no doubt that he held the same doctrine as that of all Greeks from Homer down to the latest times, and this cannot be better stated than in the words of Pausanias when speaking of Lycaon : ' For the men of that time by reason of their righteousness and piety, were guests of the gods and sat with them at table ; the gods openly visited the good with honour and the bad with their displeasure. Indeed men were raised to the rank of gods in those days and are worshipped down to the present time. Such were Aristaeus and the Cretan damsel Britomartis ; and Heracles the son of Alcmena ; and Amphiaraus son of Oecles, and moreover Pollux and Castor.' [1]

Choses Sacrées. But Miss Harrison and her partners aver that such heroes, some of whom were deified, were ' only projections ' into *choses sacrées*. What is a *chose sacrée* ? It is only the French for a ' holy thing '. But as soon as we examine the objects which are deemed ' holy things ' by various peoples, both ancient and modern, we find that such ' holy things ' or ' relics ', to use the proper English term, are (1) either a portion of some loved or revered human personage, a lock of hair, a tooth, such as that of Buddha in Ceylon, numerous remains of mediaeval and even modern saints, such as the famous arm-bone of St. Botolph, carried in procession in its silver case on great festivals at Bury St. Edmunds. Greece was no exception to this practice. Great care was taken of the bones of famous men, such as Leonidas and Themistocles, and the possession of the bones of departed worthies, such as Orestes, Tisamenus, and Melanippus, was of great importance to their owners, whilst we know that in Arcadia the bones of the dead were regularly worshipped. (2) The next class of relics are objects worn by or once possessed by some loved or venerated person, e.g. Nelson's cocked hat that he wore at Trafalgar, the shirt in which Charles I was executed, the so-called Crown of Thorns worn by Christ on Calvary for which St. Louis gave an enormous price and built the Sainte Chapelle at Paris. (3) A place or object at or in contact with or near which some famous or venerated person met his or her end, or into which his spirit is supposed

[1] viii. 2. 4.

to have passed, whether it be animal, tree, or stone, e.g. the Cross of Calvary, and the Sepulchre in which Christ lay. (4) Men also regard natural objects, such as rocks, mountains, trees, and rivers as sacred because they are thought to be inhabited by the spirits of the dead, and by a natural extension of this belief they frequently revere, as having magical powers, stones and other natural objects of unusual form or colour, such as crystals, or fossils—for example, belemnites, commonly deemed thunderbolts from heaven, or even stones wrought into axes and arrows, which amongst peoples who have reached the stage of metals, are universally believed to be thunderbolts or 'elf-shots'. Such are the *choses sacrées* of civilized races, and such we shall find to be those of barbarous races also. But it may be said that there are sham relics. Certainly, but unless people believed in the great importance of real ones, there would be no market for the forgeries.

It is therefore the human individual and not the *chose sacrée* which is primary and antecedent, for a *chose* can only become *sacrée* by being, or being believed to be, part of some human individual, or to have been once owned by or have been in close contact with his or her remains, or to be inhabited by his or her spirit or something analogous, and accordingly such relics are only secondary phenomena.

Mana. This will be the proper place to discuss the term *mana*, which has come into the nomenclature of Comparative Religion from Dr. R. R. Marett's essay on Pre-Animistic Religion.[1] His statements have not unreasonably been taken to mean that there was a pre-animistic stage in the evolution of Religion, though he now disclaims this interpretation,[2] yet hardly with success. He writes: 'It would be untrue to deny that the term pre-animistic was used by me designedly and with chronological reference. What I would not be prepared to lay down dogmatically or even provisionally is merely that there was a pre-animistic era in the history of religion when animism was not and nevertheless religion of a kind existed. For all I know some sort of animism in Tylor's sense of the word was a primary condition of the most primitive religion of mankind. But I believe that there were other conditions no less primary. Moreover, I hold that it can be shown conclusively that in some cases animistic interpretations have been superimposed on what previously bore a non-animistic sense. I would go farther still. I hold that religion in its psychological aspect is fundamentally a mode of social behaviour.' Elsewhere he adds with reference to his statement of his own theory: 'In regard

[1] *Folk-lore*, June, 1900, pp. 162–82.
[2] *Threshold of Religion*, pref. to ed. 1, p. ix.

to religion thus understood, I say not that its evolution proceeds from abstract to concrete, which would be meaningless, but that it proceeds from indistinct to distinct, from undifferentiated to differentiated, from incoherent to coherent.' [1]

Let us now examine his various contentions. (1) If *mana* is ' no less primary ' and is not more primary than animism, why does Dr. Marett place *mana* under the head of ' pre-animistic religion ', in which he admits that the qualifying adjective is used ' designedly ' with a chronological reference ? (2) The evidence presented by Dr. Marett does not seem in any wise to substantiate his statement that ' it can be shown conclusively that in some cases animistic interpretations have been superimposed on what previously bore a non-animistic sense '. Even if it could, this by no means proves that animism did not precede in time the vague notions attached to certain objects which later received full animistic interpretation. (3) As Dr. Marett holds that ' religion in its psychological aspect is fundamentally a mode of social behaviour ', let us test his other statement that ' the evolution in religion proceeds from indistinct to distinct, from undifferentiated to differentiated, from incoherent to coherent ' by an appeal to the facts of primitive society. In modern civilized communities consanguinity and relationships through marriage play so unimportant a part, that we are perfectly content with the word ' uncle ' for father's brother and mother's brother, with the word ' aunt ' for father's sister and for mother's sister, and so on. Yet the old civilized races, such as those of Rome, Greece, and India, were much more careful in differentiating these relationships and connexions, for they had one term for a father's brother, another for a mother's brother, one name for a father's sister, another for a mother's sister. The Greeks were not content with one name for half-brothers and half-sisters, but they had separate terms to express half-blood on the father's side and half-blood on the mother's, and they had special words to express ' husband's brother's wife ' and the like, and the same holds true in a still higher degree for Sanskrit, in which there is a host of terms for blood and marriage connexions for which we have no equivalents. Let us next examine the nomenclature of the lower races such as that of the Australians, amongst whom religion and social organization are inextricably bound up, and where, if Dr. Marett is right, we should find in the highest degree vagueness and indefiniteness. But here we meet the very opposite, for they have separate terms for every one of the highly complicated relationships and connexions that result from their very elaborate

[1] *Ibid.*, p. xi.

tribal, clan, and totemic divisions. The fact is that mankind in the lower stages, so far from being vague, indefinite, and undifferentiating in matters of vital concern to his very existence, on the contrary has a power of discrimination and differentiation apparently as great, if not greater, because more concentrated and circumscribed in its action than that possessed by civilized men in regard to matters which they from their standpoint deem of vital importance. We may go further and point out that so far from the lower animals being vague and undifferentiating, they have in their own limited spheres a power of differentiation by sight, sound, and smell, in matters vital to them utterly unknown to civilized man, though found in some degree in such races as the Australians, whose powers in tracking men or animals is too well known to need elaboration. Dr. Marett's hypothesis is therefore refuted by well-established facts. But is he more right in assuming that *mana* is as primary as animism ? Let us turn to his own examples of what is termed *mana* by the men of the Pacific Isles. ' Codrington ', he writes,[1] ' defines *mana* in its Melanesian sense as follows : " a force altogether distinct from physical power, which acts in all kinds of ways for good and evil and which is of the greatest advantage to possess or to control." Or again he says : " it is a power or influence, not physical, and in a way supernatural, but it shows itself in physical force or in any kind of power or excellence a man possesses." It is supernatural just in this way, that it is what works to effect everything which is beyond the ordinary power of men outside the common processes of nature.' He illustrates this point by examples : ' If a man has been successful in fighting, it has not been his natural strength of arm, quickness of eye, or readiness in resource, that has won success ; he has certainly got the *mana* of a spirit of some deceased warrior to empower him conveyed in an amulet of a stone round his neck or a tuft of leaves in his belt, in a tooth hung upon a finger of his bow hand or in the form of words with which he brings supernatural assistance to his side. If a man's pigs multiply and his gardens are productive, it is not because he is industrious and looks after his property, but because of the stones full of *mana* for pigs and yams that he possesses.' But in the first case cited, it is clear that it is only an ordinary case of relics and that *mana* depends on a primary belief in the existence of souls after the death of the body, and thus *mana* cannot be regarded as primary, but rather as secondary and dependent. In the second case, if it can be shown in the following pages that these very races and numbers more pray to their dead ancestors to make their pigs and yams prosper,

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 104.

and offer to the spirits of their dead the firstfruits, Dr. Marett's second instance is no less fatal to his assumption, for the stones full of *mana* may be the dwelling-place of spirits of the dead.

'From Polynesia', Dr. Marett proceeds, 'comes much the same story. Tregear in his admirable comparative dictionary of the Polynesian dialects renders the word, which may be either noun or adjective, thus: "supernatural power; divine authority, having qualities which ordinary persons or things do not possess." He seems to distinguish, however, what might be called a secular sense, in which the term stands generally for authority or, as an adjective, for "effectual, effective". He cites copious instances from the various dialects to exemplify the supernatural mode of *mana*. Thus the word is applied in Maori to a wooden sword that has done deeds so wonderful as to possess a sanctity and power of its own; in Samoan to a parent who brings a curse on a disobedient child; in Hawaian to the gods, or to a man who by his death gives efficacy to an idol; in Tongan to whoever performs miracles or bewitches; in Mangarevan to a magic staff given to a man by his grandfather, or again to divination in general, and so forth. In short, its range is as wide as those of divinity and witchcraft taken together.' As instances of the so-called secular use, Dr. Marett cites the cases of a chief's tabu, a healer of maladies, a successful pleader, or the winner of a race. But in all these cases we have ordinary examples of animism. Thus the wooden sword and the magic staff fall under 'relics', the 'gods' we shall find to be only the spirits of the dead, the idol became the abode of the spirit of the man sacrificed to it, whilst the power of a chief, of a caster out of devils, of witches and the like all depend upon the same antecedent belief in the existence of disembodied human spirits. We shall find that the potency of all the secret societies of the Pacific and elsewhere rests entirely upon the general belief that their members have special communion with and control over the spirits of the dead, and that their initiation ceremonies are concerned with the latter. There is thus no reason for believing either that *mana* is pre-animistic in time, or that mankind proceeds from the undifferentiated to the differentiated in matters of religion any more than in those of society.

Miss Harrison and her partners argue that behind Dionysus there was never any human reality, but that the god was only the result of the group-thinking of his *thiasos* of Satyr *daimons* and Maenads. Yet they might as well argue that neither Dominic, nor Francis of Assisi, nor Muhammad, nor Christ himself ever existed, but that they are the mere 'projections' of the 'group-thinking' of the Dominicans,

Franciscans, Muhammadans, and Christians respectively. Nay, they might as well maintain that the German Kaiser has no material existence, but is a mere ' projection ' of the ' group-thinking ' of his *thiasos* of Prussian Guards. But to this point we will revert again.

As we have seen above, persons of exceptional prowess, wisdom, and virtue were deified and worshipped by the Greeks, and were honoured after their deaths by periodical celebrations at their tombs, and such too shall we find to be the case in Hindustan, Burma, China, and Japan, and from this practice the Greeks themselves held that the great games, such as those of Olympia, Pytho, Nemea, the Isthmus, the Panathenaea, Hyacinthia, and the like had their origin. Nor can it be maintained that such celebrations belonged to a misty antiquity, for when Timoleon, the liberator of Sicily, died in 336 B.C., games were established in his honour, and the people of Amphipolis founded similar games in honour of Brasidas after his death in 422 B.C. Yet under the spell of the Mannhardt-Frazer theory, my friends Mr. A. B. Cook [1] and Mr. F. M. Cornford [2] have sought to prove that the great games of Greece, such as those at Olympia, arose out of a contest similar to that for the priesthood at Nemi. Mr. Cook holds that in mythical times the Olympic contest was a means of determining who should be king of the district and champion of the local tree-Zeus. The holder of the office for the time being was analogous to the *Rex Nemorensis* of the Golden Bough—an incarnation of the Tree- and Sky-god, and like his Italian parallel, defended his office against all comers until he was finally defeated and superseded by the successful combatant. Mr. Cook bases this view on a statement of Plutarch [3] that the Olympic contests once included a monomachia, which had later been abolished. He goes still further, for he maintains that the Olympic victor was treated with special honour in his lifetime and not infrequently worshipped as a hero after death, not because he was a successful athlete, but because he had once been an incarnate god. Mr. Cornford accepts this last part of Mr. Cook's hypothesis as ' fundamentally correct ', whilst he adopts the first part with certain modifications, as he thinks that the terms ' king, god, incarnation of the tree-Zeus, may all be somewhat misleading ', and he holds that ' a weather magician like Oinomaos, though a late theology may see in him the temporary incarnation of a god, goes back to a time when there was no god to be incarnated ', and that ' the sky-god is only a projected reflex of this human figure of the magician who claims to command the powers of the sky and to call down its rain and thunder by virtue of his own *mana* '.

[1] *Themis*, p. 220. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 220 *sqq.* [3] *Quaest. Symp.*, p. 675.

'We shall be on safer ground if we restrict ourselves to the simple primitive group consisting of the weather magician, who wields the fertilizing influences of Heaven, and the tree which embodies the powers of the Earth—the vegetation which springs up when the thunder shower has burst, and Heaven and Earth are married in the life-giving rain. To this we must add the conception with which Dr. Frazer has made us familiar, of the limited period of office enjoyed by such a personage. The individual on whose vigour and exceptional powers the fertility of earth depends, cannot be allowed to continue in office when his natural forces fall into decay. Hence the single combat, in which he has to make good his right to a renewed period or die at the hands of his more vigorous antagonist. Now in some cases at least this period of office was not merely limited by the duration of its holder's natural strength, but it bore some fixed relation to the year and to the seasonal cycle of vegetable life in nature. In other words the term of office was a "year"—a term which, as we have seen, may denote a lunar or solar year, or a longer period of two, four, or eight solar years, a *trieteris*, *penteteris*, or *ennaeteris*. During this period, long or short as it might be, the tenant of the office represented, or rather *was*, the power which governed the rains of heaven and the fruits of earth; at the end of it he was either continued for a new *eniautos* or was violently dispossessed by his successor. Further, since the *eniautos* itself could be concretely conceived as a *daimon* carrying the horn of plenty, the contents and fruits of the year in the more abstract sense, we may think of the temporary "king", as actually being the *eniautos-daimon*, or fertility spirit of his "year".

'When the year is fixed by the solar period, we get festivals of the type of the Roman Saturnalia, the Greek *Κρόνια* (with which the Saturnalia were regularly equated in ancient times), and the single combat appears as the driving out of winter or of the dying year by the vigorous young spirit of the New Year that is to come. It is as *eniautos-daimon*, not at first as "incarnate god" or as king in the later political sense, that the representative of the fertility powers of nature dies at the hands of the New Year—in this combat we may see, in a word, the essential feature of a Saturnalian or a *Kronian festival*.'[1]

But formerly Mr. Cornford, on the ground that the *Cronia* at Olympia were held at the vernal equinox, maintained that they were a Spring Vegetation festival. The present writer, however, pointed out that at Athens the *Cronia* were held in the end of July or the beginning of August, at Rhodes in the latter part of August or the

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 222–3.

first part of September, whilst the Thessalian *Peloria* identified with the *Cronia* synchronized with the Roman *Saturnalia*, and were thus held at midwinter. Mr. Cornford has now changed his front, and without letting his reader know the facts about the Cronian celebrations at Olympia, Athens, and Rhodes, is no less dogmatic and lays down that it was a midwinter festival to celebrate the triumph of the New Year over the dying one. But was the year dying at the vernal equinox; was the New Year triumphing over its dead predecessor in July, August, and September? In view of these facts we must resolutely reject Mr. Cornford's interpretation of the single combat at Olympia.

But we have seen (p. 7) how at the funeral games of Patroclus, the single combat nearly issued in the death of one of the champions. This offers a simple and natural reason for the abolition of such a contest at Olympia.[1] If it be urged by my opponents that a Homeric combat between heroes whom they assume to be mere embodiments of the Year-Daimon is worthless as evidence, I can point to the fact that such combats were in use amongst the Thracians of historical times, and that too at funeral celebrations (p. 7). I have also given reason for believing that the gladiatorial combats at Roman funerals were the survival of contests similar to those at Thracian funerals, and I cited the significant remark of Servius that this was in accord with the ancient belief that human blood should flow on the grave of a dead man. Finally, we saw reason for believing that the combat at Nemi itself on which Sir James Frazer, Mr. Cook, Mr. Cornford, and others raise such lofty structures may prove to have been in honour not of a Vegetation abstraction, but of a concrete dead man.

If the truth must be told, Mr. Cook and Mr. Cornford would find more solid ground for the theory of the incarnation of the Tree spirit in the Hangman (Fig. 3) of *Punch and Judy* than in the priest at Nemi, in Phorbas who hung his victims' heads on an oak, or in Sinis who tied his captives to a pine tree.[2] Had not the Hangman, too, his gallows *tree*, and had he not on it hung others, and in his turn was not he (like the priest at Nemi, Phorbas, and Sinis) doomed to be hung by that still more crafty ruffian Punch? In this case, they would have at all events a popular puppet-play, belonging to a class of great antiquity, of which we shall presently have much to say (pp. 157 *sqq.*), and they would not have been driven to so many conjectures and suppositions to fill up the story.

[1] *Quaest. Symp.*, p. 675.

[2] For a confutation of Mr. A. B. Cook's theory of Phorbas and Sinis, see Mr. E. M. W. Tillyard's 'Theseus, Sinis, and the Isthmian Games' (*Jour. Hell. Stud.*, vol. xxxiii, 1913, pp. 296–312).

Elsewhere Mr. Cornford describes Pelops as ' the young year-god whose marriage was celebrated in the summer '. The ritual would be

Fig. 3. Punch hangs the Hangman. [That Priest who slew the slayer !]

appropriate to a seasonal feast of a Kronian (Saturnalian) character, at which the young year-god, standing for a young and growing thinking nature, was initiated or inaugurated as ' King ' for his Year, under the doom of ' death and resurrection '. Furthermore he takes

as the true account of the foundation of the Olympic games one of the local myths which Pausanias heard at Olympia in the second half of the second century after Christ. According to this the Idaean Heracles set his brethren the Idaean Dactyls to run a race and crowned the victor with a branch of wild olive, of which they had such an abundance that they slept on heaps of its fresh green leaves. 'There is no need', says Mr. Cornford, 'for lengthy comment. The games are traced back to an original foot-race held by young men (Kouretes) from Crete, presumably analogous to the young unmarried Karneatai of Sparta. The race, we may suppose, determined who should be *the* Kouros—the Greatest Kouros—of his year. The winner received not a prize of commercial value such as was usual in funeral games, but a symbol of his office, as vegetation-*daimon*—the branch of the sacred tree. This branch reminds us of the golden bough and perhaps links the foot-race of the young men to the contest between the young and the old king. For in the famous wood at Nemi it was he who succeeded in tearing a bough from the sacred tree who had a right to contend in single combat with the King of the Wood for succession to his office.'[1]

But this later local legend on which Mr. Cornford builds so much was treated with contempt by Pausanias[2] himself, as we know from another passage (which I pointed out when Mr. Cornford first put forward his view in public). When discussing the relative antiquity of the Lycaean and Panathenaic games he says: 'I here leave out of account the Olympic games because they are traced back to a period earlier than the origin of man, the legend being that Cronus and Zeus wrestled at Olympia and that the first who ran there were the Curetes.' This passage of itself is fatal to Mr. Cornford's theory. But he has ignored a still more important authority. Pindar[3] more than six centuries before Pausanias explicitly declared that the Olympic games 'were founded beside the ancient tomb of Pelops'. It is obvious that any theories of the origin of the Olympic games, which rest only on a legend rejected by Pausanias its narrator, and on a fantastic interpretation of the single combats held at funeral games, must be summarily rejected.

But Mr. Cornford's theory breaks down also in details as well as in principle. He finds an analogy between the race of the Curetes at Olympia and the plucking of the branch by the competitor at Nemi. Yet there is not the slightest reference to any foot-race in the

[1] *Themis*, pp. 235–6. [2] viii. 2. 1.

[3] *Ol.* x. 30; cf. Miss W. M. L. Hutchinson's searching review of *Themis* (*Class. Rev.*, vol. xxvii, 1913, pp. 132–4).

various stories relating to that sacred spot. Again, he assumes that the wild olive at Olympia is parallel to the oak at Nemi, regardless of the fact that Sir James Frazer's theory depends on the assumption that the supreme god of the Aryans always dwelt in an oak tree, and that the King of the Wood was the incarnation not of any kind of tree spirit, but only of the oak-tree spirit, which was itself the Sky-god. He thus contravenes his master's teaching in one of its most vital points.

We have now disposed of the fundamental assumptions upon which Miss Harrison and her partners base their theory of the origin of Tragedy—the supposed primitive Sacred Marriage, or *Sacer Ludus* at Eleusis, with which also disappears Dieterich's theory of the origin of Tragedy, that the Dithyramb was a Spring vegetation ceremony in honour of the Year-*Daimon*, at which youths were initiated, that heroes and gods were only 'projections' into *choses sacrées* by 'group-thinking', and the views of Sir James Frazer, Mr. Cook, and Mr. Cornford respecting the origin of the Olympic games, whilst at the same time we have seen grave reasons for doubting the validity of Sir James Frazer's theory of the *Rex Nemorensis* at Nemi, on which so many and vast superstructures have been raised. We are now in a position to deal with Professor G. G. Murray's contribution—his modification of Dieterich's theory of the origin of Tragedy.

Let us hear his own account of the joint efforts of himself and his collaborators.[1]

'The following note presupposes certain general views about the origin and the essential nature of Greek Tragedy. It assumes that Tragedy is in origin a Ritual Dance, a *Sacer Ludus*, representing normally the Aition or supposed historical Cause, of some current ritual practice; e.g. the *Hippolytus* represents the legendary death of that hero regarded as the Aition of a certain ritual lamentation practised by the maidens of Troezen. Further, it assumes in accord with the overwhelming weight of ancient tradition that the Dance in question is originally or centrally that of Dionysus; and it regards Dionysus in this connexion as the spirit of the Dithyramb or Spring *Dromenon*, an "Eniautos Daimon", who represents the cyclic death and rebirth of the world, including the rebirth of the tribe by the return of the heroes or dead ancestors. These conceptions, it will be seen, are in general agreement with the recent work of Dieterich,[2] also with those of Usener[3] as developed by Dr. Farnell[4] and the

[1] *Themis*, pp. 341 *sqq.*

[2] *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, vol. xi, pp. 163–96.

[3] *Ibid.*, vii, pp. 303–13.

[4] *Cults*, vol. v, p. 235, note A.

indications of the Macedonian mummeries described by Mr. Dawkins and others. I must also acknowledge a large debt to Professor Ridgeway's Tomb-theory, the more so since I ultimately differ from him on the main question, and seek to show that certain features in Tragedy which he regards as markedly foreign to Dionysus-worship are in reality natural expressions of it. It is of course clear that Tragedy, as we possess it, contains many non-Dionysiac elements. The ancients themselves have warned us of that. It has been influenced by the Epic, by hero cults, and by various ceremonies not connected with Dionysus. Indeed, the actual Aition treated in Tragedy is seldom confessedly and obviously Dionysiac. It is so sometimes. Sometimes it is the founding of a torch-race or the original reception of suppliants at some altar or sanctuary. But it is much more often the death or *Pathos* of some hero. Indeed, I think it can be shown that every extant Tragedy contains somewhere towards the end the celebration of a *tabu* tomb. This point we must gladly concede to Professor Ridgeway. I wish to suggest, however, that while the content has strayed far from Dionysus, the forms of Tragedy retain clear traces of the original drama of the Death and Rebirth of the Year Spirit.'

Let us now examine the postulates on which Professor Murray's theory depends, and which of themselves are sufficient to raise doubts. He assumes (1) that mankind in its primitive stages has no individual thinking, but this is not supported by any cogent facts; (2) that man revered the abstract before the concrete, the Universal before the Particular, a proposition refuted (pp. 12–13) by the history of the whole human race; (3) that men did not worship or revere actual human heroes, such as Brasidas and Timoleon, and that those of whom we read in Homer and other early Greek literature never existed, but were mere 'projections' into *choses sacrées* by 'group-thinking' of pre-existing abstract conceptions of the Year Spirit. But we have shown (pp. 47–8) that a *chose sacrée* or relic derives regularly its sanctity or power (Dr. Marett's *mana*) from having been a part of or having been closely connected with some human being, or from a belief that such is the case. (4) All depends on the assumption that the *Sacer Ludus* at Eleusis was primaeval. But as I have disproved this by irresistible facts, which have led Sir James Frazer to abandon it, the basis of the Dieterich-Harrison-Cornford-Murray theory is gone. (5) He assumes that the Dance or Dithyramb is originally or centrally that of Dionysus, and he regards Dionysus as the spirit of the Dithyramb or Spring *Dromenon*, an Eniautos Daimon, who represents the cyclic death and rebirth of the world. But we have shown above

(pp. 45–7) that at no period was the Dithyramb peculiar to Dionysus, that his festivals were not confined to Spring (p. 44), and that Aristotle, on whom this assumption is really based, nowhere connects the origin of Tragedy proper with Dionysus. As we have already disposed of the theories of Dieterich, Usener, and Farnell, their agreement with Professor Murray's view weakens rather than strengthens it. There thus remains nothing of all Professor Murray's postulates but 'Professor Ridgeway's Tomb-theory'. Furthermore, he admits that 'the content of Tragedy has strayed far from Dionysus', yet he wishes to suggest, however, that 'the forms of Tragedy contain clear traces of the original drama of the Death and Rebirth of the Year Spirit'.

What is this 'original drama' of the Death and Rebirth of the Year Spirit? Nothing more than the sacred drama of Eleusis, on which Dieterich builds his theory. But we have already shown that so far from any drama of this kind being original at Eleusis, it did not make its appearance there until after the Christian era. The only primitive dramatization for which, as we saw, there is evidence at Eleusis was the mimetic search with torches for Persephone in which the descendants of Triptolemus as Torch-bearers took the leading part. But this is not claimed to be a case of the Death and Rebirth of the Year Spirit by Professor Murray or any one else. Its object was to honour Demeter by commemorating her grief for her lost daughter, who, be it remembered, was not recovered by that vain quest. But there is another question of principle before we proceed to deal with the details. Professor Murray's [1] account of the original drama of the Death and Rebirth of the Year Spirit is as follows: 'If we examine this kind of myth which seems to underlie the various Eniautos' celebrations, we shall find (1) an *Agon* or Contest, the Year against its enemy, Light against Darkness, Summer against Winter. (2) A *Pathos* of the Year-Daimon, generally a ritual or sacrificial death, in which Adonis or Attis is slain by the *tabu* animal, the Pharmakos stoned, Osiris, Dionysus, Pentheus, Orpheus, Hippolytus torn to pieces (*σπαραγμός*). (3) A *Messenger*. For this Pathos seems seldom or never to be actually performed under the eyes of the audience. (The reason of this is not hard to suggest.) It is announced by a messenger. The news comes that Pan the Great, Thammuz, Adonis, Osiris is dead, and the dead body is often brought in on a bier. This leads to (4) a *Threnos* or lamentation. Specially characteristic, however, is a clash of contrary emotions, the death of the old being also the triumph of the new. (5) and (6) An

[1] *Themis*, pp. 342–3.

Anagnorisis, discovery or recognition, of the slain and mutilated Daimon followed by his Resurrection or Apotheosis or, in some sense, his Epiphany in glory. This I shall call by the general name, *The Theophany*. It naturally goes with a Peripeteia or extreme change of feeling from grief to joy.' He next points out the only difficulty that he finds in Dieterich's theory (p. 41), that whereas the *Sacer Ludus* at Eleusis had a joyful *dénouement*, in the typical Greek tragedies the Reversal was from happiness to sorrow. To meet this Professor Murray tries to show that his supposed primitive ritual of the death and rebirth of the Year had a happy conclusion by the resurrection of the god. Traces of this he imagines he finds in the Satyric drama, which gave a joyous conclusion to the Tragic trilogy, but he fails to explain the fact that Thespis knew not the Satyric drama, which was first composed and brought to Athens by Pratinas of Phlius later than 535 B.C., and he omits a fact no less important, that Aeschylus, who only began to write after 499 B.C., was the first to exhibit trilogies. But it is on the *deus ex machina* of Euripides that he chiefly relies. Starting with the *Bacchae* he assumes (after some German) that Pentheus and Dionysus are one and the same person, or, as he would say, the spirit of the Year, and he finds in the reappearance of Dionysus at the end of the play Pentheus come to life. But he might as reasonably assume that William Rufus and Sir Walter Tyrrell, or Charles I and Oliver Cromwell, were one and the same individual as that Pentheus and Dionysus are identical simply because one killed the other. He next takes the *Hippolytus* in which that hero is killed by his own horses, and in Artemis who appears at the close Professor Murray sees the revived Hippolytus. But as it was not Artemis but his own horses that killed the hero, on his own principles Professor Murray must regard as identical Hippolytus, a pair of horses, and Artemis. Again he points out that the trilogy of Aeschylus of which the *Suppliants* was the second play, ended with the appearance of Aphrodite. But he omits to point out that the *Sparagmos* in this case was the slaying of forty-nine sons of Aegyptus by their respective brides. Again, on Professor Murray's own principles Aphrodite must be identical with forty-nine young men. It is needless to give any other examples, as we have cited what he considers his strongest cases.

But a moment's reflection will convince the reader that the features which Professor Murray takes as characteristic of this ancient ritual drama of the death and rebirth of the Year can be found not only at any moment in human life, but in the whole realm of nature. For example, on a garden lawn is a happy family, two old sparrows feeding

their young; enter the lady's favourite cat; she pounces on a baby sparrow (*Peripeteia*); a short struggle (*Agon*), speedy death (*Pathos*), and the cat retires rending her victim (*Sparagmos*). All under the eyes of little Tommy, who (*Messenger*) runs in to tell his mother what the naughty cat has done; meantime the parent sparrows are expressing their grief (*Threnos*) in unmistakable terms; the lady comes forth and discovers (*Anagnorisis*) the cat (*Theophany*) returning (possibly with an eye to another of the brood), her former victim lodged comfortably inside, the two now in process of forming one body, if not one personality.

Professor Murray proceeds:[1] 'Lastly, there are some plays in which our supposed Year-Daimon makes his Epiphany not as a celestial god, but as a ghost or hero returned from the grave. It is obvious that he is quite within his rights in so appearing; he is essentially a being returned from the dead, and his original ritual Epiphany was a resurrection.'

Most readers will be astonished to find that in obedience to the exigencies of a preconceived hypothesis Darius, son of Hystaspes, one of the best authenticated personages in all history, is turned into a mere manifestation of the Year-Daimon. 'The hero or as he is called the God (θεός, 644 &c., δαίμων, 642) Darius is evoked from his sacred tomb.' 'After the Pathos related by the Messenger comes a Threnos and an *evocation* of the dead king or god, Darius.' This strange conclusion is due to the fact that Professor Murray and his partners follow Sir James Frazer in assuming that not only Dionysus, Adonis, Attis, and Osiris were mere phases of the Vegetation or Year spirit, but also in assuming that mankind first grieved and lamented for the supposed sorrows of these mere abstractions, and that only later they began to grieve and lament for their own woes and disasters.

Is it seriously maintained that in the Balkans, Asia Minor, and Egypt, of old the seats of the cults of Dionysus, Adonis, and Osiris, women only learned to wail and beat their breasts for the loved child or husband, from ritual lamentations in honour of empty abstractions? But we have already seen that the concrete in human life always precedes the abstract, the Captain Boycott before the verb to boycott, and so *ad infinitum*. The One in the Many—the Universal that runs through all Particulars—was only discovered by the philosophers, like Socrates and Plato, but certainly formed no part of the mental furniture of the ordinary Athenians of their time, much less of the early Greeks or of any other primitive race.

[1] *Themis*, pp. 348–50.

But another of the main supports of the edifice reared by Professor Murray and his partners—Sir James Frazer's doctrine that Dionysus, Adonis, Attis, and Osiris were mere names for the abstract Vegetation spirit—has suddenly given way, and thus involves the downfall of their airy castle. Sir James Frazer in the preface to the third edition of *Adonis, Attis, Osiris* (1914), now writes: 'Following the example of Dr. Wallis Budge, I have indicated certain analogies which may be traced between the worship of Osiris and the worship of the dead, especially of dead kings, among the modern tribes of Africa. The conclusion to which these analogies appear to point is that under the mythical pall of the glorified Osiris, the god who died and rose again from the dead, there once lay the body of a dead man,' and though he endeavours to save some fragments of his theory by trying to draw a distinction between the stories of Adonis and Attis and that of Osiris, I have hopes that the evidence given in this work (pp. 86–93) will show that there is no better reason for still regarding the two former as abstract Vegetation or Year spirits than there is for Osiris. But if 'under the mythical pall of the glorified Osiris' once lay the body of a dead man, may not the same hold true for Dionysus, who is termed by the Greeks not only *theos* but also *heros*, i.e. one who had been a real human personage, but treated with divine honours after his death? The fact that Dionysus had an oracle at his oldest sanctuary, that on the top of the Pangaean range in Thrace, in the light of evidence to be cited later (p. 376) will point clearly to the same conclusion.

What now becomes of Professor Murray's theory of the origin of Tragedy? What becomes of the doctrine that Ajax, Achilles, Agamemnon, Odysseus, and all the other Greek heroes, and even Archelaus, king of Macedon, and Darius, son of Hystaspes, were mere 'projections' into *choses sacrées* by 'group-thinking'? What becomes of his theory of the *Sparagmos* of Osiris, Dionysus, Pentheus, Orpheus, and Hippolytus if his mainstay Osiris turns out to have been a real human being? There is nothing left of the elements with which he started to frame his hypothesis except 'Professor Ridgeway's Tomb-theory', i.e. the worship of the dead.

That a certain ancient ritual can be detected in Greek tragedies I gladly admit, for I have maintained that such there is, and that it arose out of the funeral rites and periodical celebrations to honour the good and noble or to appease the malevolent. But such burial rites, including the representation of the dead man himself (as at Rome), solemn dances, and athletic contests were practised by mankind in Mediterranean lands, and all the world over in some form

or other before the cult of Dionysus had issued from Thrace or Zagreus had been given a place in the Mysteries of Eleusis.

We have already seen that these ancient rites were regarded by the Greeks as an offering of firstfruits, i.e. harvest-thanksgiving, that the oldest part of the ceremonial was the worshipping of the dead succeeded by races, like those regularly held at actual funeral and periodic celebrations of historical personages, such as Brasidas and Timoleon. It may turn out in our investigations that the Mysteries of Eleusis arose out of the custom of offering the first-fruits of the harvest to the spirits of the dead, before the living partook of them. It may also turn out that wherever initiatory Mysteries such as those on which Miss Harrison and her partners rely are to-day held amongst savage races, the essential part of the initiation is the presentation or introduction of the youths to the ancestors of the tribe.

This is not the place to treat of the origin of Comedy, but Mr. F. M. Cornford in the preface to his recently published *Origin of Attic Comedy* (1914) has put forward the hypothesis that 'these traditional forms' still traceable in the content of the Aristophanic play were inherited from a ritual drama, the contents of which can be reconstructed, and that 'the ritual drama lying behind Comedy proves to be essentially of the same type as that in which Professor Gilbert Murray has sought the origin of Tragedy'. But what that ritual was not, and also what it really was, has been made clear in the preceding pages—primitive funerary rites. Even if Mr. Cornford could prove that it was not mere obscene buffoonery, but a Dionysiac fertility ritual which lay behind these phallic songs, still common in certain cities in the days of Aristotle, and out of which he states that Comedy arose, this Dionysiac ritual would be nothing more than the worship of one who had been once a human being, and of certain of his parts or imitations thereof. This proposition will be made clear in our section on Uganda, pp. 381, 384.

In the following pages I propose to test the truth or falsehood of the propositions set forth above—that Vegetation, Corn and Tree spirits, as well as those of rocks, mountains, and rivers, and what are collectively termed Totemistic beliefs, are not primary phenomena, totally independent of the belief in the continued existence of the human soul after the death of the body, but are merely secondary and dependent on the primary belief in the immortality or durability of the soul: that men first pray to the dead and not to abstract spirits for rain and good crops; that in gratitude they make offerings of the firstfruits to the dead; that it is only at a late stage that

Corn, or Maize mothers, Harvest and Food goddesses, i.e. generalizations, appear; that mankind has sought and still seeks to win the favour of the dead by periodical offerings, athletic contests, and mimetic dances which refer to the lives of the departed, and that Tragedy arose out of these dramatic dances in honour of the dead. If the facts derived from the history and living practices of non-European races, civilized as well as barbarous, should establish these propositions, we may rest assured that Greek Tragedy also arose in the worship of the dead.

II. WESTERN ASIA

When we start on our survey of tragic or melodramatic performances, which at this hour are to be found in some form or other from the Mediterranean to the Pacific, we must bear in mind that although Christianity, Muhammadanism, Zoroastrianism, Brahminism, and Buddhism have exercised most potent influences in various areas of that wide region from North Africa to Japan, they are but overlaid upon a deep-rooted series of primitive beliefs. Chief of these is that in the continued existence of man's soul after the death of his body, and also in not a few cases the possibility of the reincarnation of the soul in the bodies of other men or in those of lower animals. It may be that this latter doctrine is in its turn closely bound up with the practice of giving to the beasts the bodies of the dead, which once prevailed amongst all the peoples from the Persian Gulf to the Arctic Ocean,[1] and which is still customary amongst the Arabs dwelling east of Syria, amongst the Parsis, amongst the Samoyedes and other primitive tribes of Upper Asia, as well as amongst many Tibetan communities.

The Drama of Western Asia. Now although it is rightly held that there has never been in Western Asia a real dramatic literature, such as that of Greece, Hindustan, Elizabethan England, France, or Spain, yet a brief inquiry will prove that over wide areas of that region one of the most potent forces of religion at this very moment is a primitive drama in its origin corresponding very closely to that which I have urged for Greek Tragedy.

Ali, Hassan, and Hussein. Every reader knows that the followers of Muhammad are divided into two main sects which hate each other bitterly: (1) the Sunnis or orthodox, so termed because they acknowledge the authority of the *Sunna*, a body of moral traditions of the sayings and doings of the Prophet. One of these, springing from the hatred of idolatry deep-rooted in the Semitic mind, forbids any exhibition or dramatic representation of the human form, a fact which helps to explain the absence of all dramatic performances amongst the Sunnis (Arabs and Turks) save the Shadow-plays of foreign origin, to which we shall refer later on (p. 225). (2) The Shiah, who derived their name from *Shiah*, a faction or party, and *par*

[1] Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, vol. i, pp. 485 *sqq.*

excellence the faction or party of Ali and Fatima, and their sons Hassan and Hussein, who form the themes of the famous Passion Play, the performances of which are practically coextensive with the Shiah form of Islam that is found from India to North Africa. In order, therefore, to understand the origin of this celebrated religious drama, a brief account of the history of Muhammad's family and of his immediate successors is necessary.

The strife between Atreus and his brother Thyestes brought upon the house of Pelops a chain of woes that form the theme of the greatest tragedy of the ancient world. In like manner the fraternal jealousy of an Arab sheikh's two sons gave birth to a succession of horrors on which is founded a Passion Play which still year by year in the month of Muharram rouses the religious emotions and rekindles the sectarian hate of the members of the great Shiah sect from the Ganges to North Africa.

Already in the time of the Ignorance the Koreish was the most powerful tribe of South Arabia, and during the fifth century of our era it had become the head of the Arab communities whose centre of worship was Mecca. That famous town then, as in large part now, owed its importance to the fact that all the tribes of Peninsular Arabia had from time immemorial acknowledged as pre-eminent the sanctity of its Black Stone fetish known as the Kaaba.

In the sixth century one Abd Manaf became the chieftain of the Koreish and Prince of Mecca, being the second of his family to hold in succession the priestship of the Kaaba shrine. He had two sons, Abd Shams the eldest, who was the father of Ommiyah, the progenitor, as we shall see, of the Ommiyah Khalifs of Damascus (A.D. 661–750), whose posterity afterwards reigned at Cordova from A.D. 755–1031. Abd Manaf's second son was named Hashim. It was he who inflicted a signal defeat upon the Abyssinian army which had made an expedition against Mecca in his father's lifetime. In consequence of this great victory Hashim and his descendants obtained the ascendancy in the tribe of the Koreish, with whom the chieftainship, though confined to one family, was elective. This ascendancy conferred also on Hashim the custody of the Kaaba, which otherwise might have gone to his elder brother. Thus arose that family feud between the Hashimites and the house of Ommiyah, son of Abd Shams, which not only led to the tragedies which form our immediate subject, but has influenced to this hour the whole history of Islam.[1]

[1] I have gratefully to acknowledge the kind help in giving me references to the

Hashim had a son Abdal Motalleb, who had in turn three sons, Abdallah, Abbas, and Abu Talib. Abdallah's son was Muhammad the Prophet, whilst Abbas became the progenitor of the Abbaside Khalifs, who after driving the last of the Ommiades to Spain, set up their own rule at Bagdad (A.D. 750), where they reigned until the overthrow of the Eastern Khalifate in A.D. 1258 by the Turks and Mongols under Hulaku Khan, the grandson of Chinghiz Khan.

Muhammad had several wives, first Kadijah (who bore him Fatima), and, later, Ayesha. Ali, son of Abu Talib, and therefore first cousin of the Prophet, married Fatima, and it was Ayesha's stepmotherly jealousy of the children of Kadijah and her special antipathy to Ali, arising out of a charge made against her fidelity to her husband, that at last brought to a head the bitter family feud between the Hashimites and the house of Ommiyah. This culminated in the tragedy of Kerbela, which forms the chief theme of the great Passion Play of Western Asia.

The strife consequent on this family feud still divides the Shiites or followers of Fatima and Ali, the 'Lion of Allah', from the rest of Islam.[1]

When Muhammad died in A.D. 632 there arose several false prophets as well as a prophetess, and but for the astuteness and strong personality of Omar, the unruly tribes of Arabia, to whom for the first time in their history Muhammad had given a political unity, might have lapsed into their habitual anarchy. There were no less than four serious claimants to the Khalifate: (1) Ali, the Prophet's first cousin and the husband of Fatima, his youngest daughter and only surviving child; (2) Abu Beker, 'the father of the virgin', that is of Ayesha, the favourite wife of Muhammad; (3) Omar, the father of Hafsa, another of his wives; and (4) Othman, the only member of the house of Ommiyah, who had voluntarily embraced the religion of the Prophet, and who had also married two of his daughters, both of whom, as well as all their children, were now dead. The succession lay clearly with Ali, but Ayesha, who had never forgiven him for countenancing the charge of incontinence brought against her, determined to prevent this election, and in this she was supported by all the Koreish of the house of Ommiyah. For a moment it was proposed to have two Khalifs, but Omar vehemently forbade it, and

literature for this section of my friend and colleague Dr. R. A. Nicholson, late Fellow of Trinity College, and Lecturer in Persian in the University of Cambridge.

[1] For the best account of Muhammadanism in general the reader is referred to Dr. T. W. Arnold's masterly work, *The Preaching of Islam*, 2nd ed.

suddenly hailed Abu Beker as Khalif, an example followed by all present. Ali and Fatima had to acquiesce in this choice, but retired into the desert of Arabia with Hassan and Hussein, the only two surviving grandchildren of the Prophet. Their descendants are considered noble in every country throughout Islam and wear the green turban as the symbol of their sacred lineage. When Abu Beker died, A.D. 634, Ayesha secured the succession for Omar, and Ali had no choice but to acquiesce once more.

On Omar's death in A.D. 643 the Khalifate was offered to Ali on condition that he would govern according to the Koran and the traditions of Muhammad, as established by Abu Beker and his successor. Ali replied that he would govern according to the Koran, but that in other respects he would act upon his own judgement without reference to 'the traditions of the elders'. As this reply was considered unsatisfactory, Othman the Ommiyad was elected, and at once proceeded to advance different members of his own house to the highest offices in the empire, straightway making Moawiyah, son of Abu Sofyan, the deadliest foe of the house of Hashim, Governor of Syria. Othman was assassinated in A.D. 655, and Ali was at last elected on his own terms in spite of the resolute opposition of Ayesha. One of his first acts was to recall Moawiyah from Syria. But the latter refused to obey and claimed the Khalifate for himself, a pretension in which he was supported by Ayesha. In the Battle of the Camel, so called because the virago herself was present, mounted on a camel, Ali won the day; Talha and Zobair, the rebel generals, were both slain, and Ayesha herself fell into the hands of the victor. In a second battle fought at Siffen, Ali was less fortunate, for when victory seemed certain, by a device Amrou, the conqueror of Egypt, secured the issue for Moawiyah, who was himself present. Amrou proposed that the rival claims should be settled by arbitration. Ali protested, but in vain. The two armies arranged that the claims of Ali and Moawiyah should be adjudicated by two arbitrators, one from each side. A dispute then arose amongst Ali's troops respecting the lawfulness of this mode of settlement, and when he arrived at Kufa, 12,000 of his men who had clamoured most loudly to abide by the decision of the Koran deserted. Ali never recovered from this blow, and when he was busy collecting a fresh army, he was murdered (A.D. 660) as he was entering the mosque by Abdalrahman, one of the deserters from his arms. His body was buried at a spot five miles from Kufa, and in after times a magnificent tomb was erected over his grave, which became the site of a town known as Meshed Ali, 'the Sepulchre of Ali.'

Hassan, the eldest son of Ali, was at once elected Khalif without opposition, but he resigned it in favour of Moawiyah, on condition that he should resume it on the death of the latter, who had no hesitation in making this bargain, as he had determined that his own son Yezid should be his successor. He took sure means to accomplish this design, and at his instigation, Hassan was poisoned by one of his wives in A.D. 668. In his last agonies his brother Hussein asked him who he thought had wrought the crime. But Hassan replied, 'This world is only for a night; leave him alone until he and I shall meet at the Judgement Day before the presence of the Most High God.' Hassan's wish was to be laid by the sepulchre of Ali, but the implacable Ayesha refused her consent, and his body was placed to rest in the common burial-ground beyond the city.

But retribution at last overtook the fierce virago, and in A.D. 676 she met a well-deserved fate at the hands of Moawiyah, whose part she had unflinchingly taken against Ali and his sons. 'She was trapped by that unscrupulous despot down a well covered all over with green branches, on which, in response to his warm welcome into his garden, she sat, and the irrepressible dowager sank softly into everlasting night.' Three years later (A.D. 679) Moawiyah himself went to his account, and was succeeded without any election by his son Yezid, 'the Polluted.' Thus was established the hereditary dynasty of the Ommiades, which held the Khalifate at Damascus for a century. But the feud between the descendants of the sons of Abd Manaf, so far from abating, rather intensified, and Islam was for ever rent in twain, a result in no small measure brought about by deep-seated ethnic and racial forces, which may be regarded as the real origin of the great Shiah schism.

The Battle of Kerbela. Two tragedies in the great trilogy of the house of Hashim had been enacted, but the third and crowning one now comes upon the stage. Soon after the unopposed accession of Yezid, the people of Kufa secretly sent messages to Hussein entreating him to become the head of the Faithful in Babylonia, but the intriguers had acted with imprudence and Yezid had full information of the intended revolt. Long before Hussein could reach Kufa the Khalif had replaced the easy-going governor of that city by Obeidallah, the resolute ruler of Bassorah. His prompt measures disconcerted the plans of the conspirators and drove them to a premature outbreak, and to the surrender of their leader Muslim, who saw too late that he had involved Hussein in his own ruin.

When Hussein arrived from Mecca on the confines of Babylonia, he was met by Harro, an Arab sheikh, whom Obeidallah had sent out with a body of horsemen to intercept Hussein's approach. Hussein addressed Harro and his force, asserting his title to the Khalifate, and called on them to submit to him. Harro told him that his orders were to conduct him to Kufa to Obeidallah. Hussein replied that he would rather die than submit to that and gave the word to his men to ride on, but Harro wheeled about and intercepted them, declaring that although he had no orders to fight with Hussein he must not part with him until he had conducted him into Kufa. Harro, as the sequel proved, was very reluctant to have any part in the movement against Hussein. He then withdrew his forces a little way and allowed Hussein to lead on towards Kufa. The latter took the road by Adib and Kadisia. This was on Thursday, Muharram 1st, A.D. 680. Hussein continued his march all through the night. As he rode he slept a little, and waking up said, 'Men travel by night, and the destinies travel toward them; this I know to be a message of death.'

Next morning, Muharram 2nd, came a horseman, who passed Hussein by, but saluted Harro, to whom he delivered a letter from Obeidallah, ordering Harro to lead Hussein and his force into a place where there was neither town nor fortification, and there leave them till the Syrian army should surround them. Next day, Saturday, Muharram 3rd, Amer Ibn Said came up to them with 4,000 men, who were on their march to Dailam. This force had been encamped without the walls of Kufa, and on hearing of Hussein's coming Obeidallah commanded Amer to defer his march to Dailam and to proceed against Hussein. But one and all dissuaded him. Amer would gladly have acquiesced, but on Obeidallah's threat he marched against Hussein and came up with him as aforesaid on Saturday, the 3rd of Muharram. Amer was ordered to cut Hussein off from the river, and this he did at Kerbela. 'Anguish (*ker*) and Vexation (*bela*), Trouble and Affliction,' cried Hussein, when he heard the name. Presently Hussein and Amer conferred, and the former expressed his readiness to return to Mecca. Obeidallah was at first inclined to accede to these conditions until Shamer stood up and swore that no terms should be made with Hussein, adding significantly that he had heard of a long conference between the latter and Amer. Obeidallah then sent Shamer with orders to Amer that if Hussein would surrender unconditionally, he would be received; if not, Amer was to fall upon him and his men and to trample them under their horses' feet. If Amer were to refuse, Shamer was to cut

off his head and take the command against Hussein. Thus passed Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday. On the evening of Friday (the 9th of Muharram), Amer drew up his forces close to Hussein's camp, and he himself rode up to Hussein, as he was sitting in the door of his tent just after evening prayer, and told him of the conditions offered by Obeidallah. Hussein asked for time until next morning. In the night his sister Zobeida came weeping to his bedside, and awaking him exclaimed, 'Alas for the desolation of my family; my mother Fatima is dead, and my father Ali, and my brother Hassan. Alas for the destruction that is coming.' 'Sister,' Hussein replied, 'put your trust in God, and know that man is born to die, and that the heavens shall not remain, everything shall pass away but the presence of God, who created all things by his power, and shall make them by his power to pass away, and they shall return to him alone.' He told his men that Obeidallah wanted none but him, and he urged them to depart to their homes. 'God forbid', cried they, 'that we should ever see the day wherein we survive you.'

Then he commanded them to cord their tents close together, so as to keep out the enemy's horses, and to dig a trench behind his camp, which they filled with wood, so that they could only be attacked in front. Next morning was Saturday, the 10th of Muharram, and both sides prepared for battle. Then followed a sudden and dramatic episode. Just as doom seemed ready for Hussein and his devoted band, Harro rode suddenly up; he had come to die with Hussein. Shamer then shot the first arrow and so the battle began. The fighting, which principally took the form of single combats, went on till noon, when both sides retired for prayer. Hussein recited the Prayer of Fear, used only in cases of extremity. When, shortly afterwards, the fight was renewed, Hussein was struck on the head by a sword. Faint with the loss of blood, he sat down by his tent and took upon his lap his little son Abdallah, who was at once killed by a flying arrow. He placed the little body on the ground, crying out, 'We come from God and to him we return. O God, give me strength to bear these misfortunes.' Tormented with thirst he ran toward the Euphrates, where, as he stooped to drink, an arrow struck him in the mouth. Raising his hands all besmeared and dripping with blood to heaven, he stood for a while and prayed earnestly. His little nephew, a beautiful child, who went up to kiss him, had his little hand cut off with a sword, on which Hussein again wept, saying, 'Thy reward, dear child, is with thy forefathers in the realms of bliss.'

Hounded on by Shamer the Syrian troops now pressed all round on Hussein and his faithful band, but nothing daunted the gallant sheikh charged them right and left. In the midst of the combat his sister threw herself between him and his foes, crying out to Amer, how could he stand by and see Hussein slain. Amer, with tears trickling down his beard, turned his face away, and Shamer, with threats and curses, urged on his men again. At last one wounded Hussein in the hand, a second gashed his neck, and a third thrust a spear through his body. No sooner had he fallen to the ground than Shamer led some horsemen over his body backwards and forwards repeatedly until it was stamped into the very earth, a mangled mass of flesh and mud.

Thus twelve years after his elder brother had perished by the poisoned cup, the second son of Ali and Fatima met his fate with his devoted kinsmen around him on the bloody plain of Kerbela, Saturday, Muharram 10th, A.D. 680—the third and crowning tragedy of the house of the Prophet. But it was politically as great a blunder as it was a crime. The bloody deed sent a shudder of horror throughout the Muhammadan world which vibrates to this very hour. Retribution was not long delayed, for in A.D. 686 Mukhtar exacted a grim vengeance for Kerbela, putting to death, in many cases with torture, Amer Ibn Said, Shamer, and several hundred others of lesser note who had borne a part on that guilty day. Subsequent persecution helped to keep its memory green, for in A.D. 852 Mutawakkil caused the holy shrine at Kerbela, built to commemorate the martyrdom of Hussein, to be destroyed and forbade men to visit the spot, which was ploughed over and sown with corn. But all in vain. Once more the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the Church. Year by year to this hour, on the 10th of Muharram, the martyrdom of Hussein is rehearsed, in Persia, India, Turkey, and Egypt, wherever a Shiah colony exists.

The essence of the Shiah faith is the doctrine of the *Imam*, or the incarnation of God in successive individuals. But the Shiahs are divided into two chief sects as well as many minor ones. The two former are the *Imamiyeh* and the *Ismailiyeh*, both of whom hold with equal intensity the doctrine of the *Imam*, but, whereas the Imamiyeh believe in the twelve official *Imams* and no others, the various subsects of the Ismailiyeh only recognize the first seven, and hold that since they disappeared there have been and still will be occasional and successive incarnations, and that these may occur at any time and in any place, independent of race, but not of religion. One of the last of these *Imams* was the Mahdi of the Sudan, who in his lifetime, as

an *Imam*, excited a fanaticism incomprehensible to the West. On his death his tomb became so all-important as the cult centre of the fanatics who devastated the Nile region and hung over Egypt like a thunder-cloud, that after the battle of Omdurman, Lord Kitchener, acting on the advice of those best acquainted with Islam, had the tomb destroyed and the Mahdi's bones flung into the Nile. With the destruction of the material remains of the Imam a death-blow was dealt to his cult, a fact which demonstrates that such fanaticism is not excited by mere abstract concepts, such as sun myths, vegetation spirits, or the Daemon of the Year, but derives all its energy from the cult of the dead.

Most of the early Muhammadan sects held a divine incarnation in a tangible human individual as their fundamental tenet, a doctrine more tenacious and enduring than any other basis of religion. In those countries where this belief was already rooted in the soil before the coming of the Prophet, Muhammadanism has most rapidly taken hold, and the Shiah form has become dominant, as for example in the lower Tigris and Euphrates region, Persia, and India, and from the enlightened veneration of the Babis to the fanatical devotion of African tribes to the Mahdi, all must be included as offspring of that parent stock.

But a brief glance at the history of the *Imamiyeh* will prove that their special doctrine is no less closely bound up with human individuality. This doctrine is really the official religion of Persia, and as has been well pointed out by Professor E. G. Browne [1] and others, its popularity is in no small degree due to a deep-rooted love for the ancient Persian dynasty. Ali and his sons, Hassan and Hussein, are regarded as the first three Imams or incarnations. Hussein is believed to have married Shahr-banu, a daughter of Yazdigid, the last Persian king of the house of Sassan. Whether this marriage really took place or not, it has been accepted by the Shiites for many centuries, and Shahr-banu still holds a place in the hearts of her countrymen and countrywomen : she gives her name to a mountain three or four miles south of Teheran, known as the Kuh-i-Bibi Shahr-banu, which no male footstep may profane and which is visited by women who desire an intercessor with God for the fulfilment of their needs. She is one of the heroines of those heart-moving passion plays (*taziyas*) which circle round the sufferings of Ali, Fatima, and their sons, and which are yearly enacted in every Persian town and colony to crowds of weeping spectators. In the drama entitled *The Passing of Shahr-banu*, she declares that she

[1] *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. i, p. 132.

was daughter of Yazdigid the king, from Nashirwan she traced her origin, that she dwelt in her happy days of childhood and girlhood in Ray's proud city, that she dreamed one night that Fatima spake to her and told her that Hassan would lead her captive to Medina, that Hussein would marry her, and from this union would spring nine Imams, 'the like of which hath not been seen on earth.' [1]

The fact that a Persian mountain is being venerated at this very hour, not because it is regarded as the material manifestation of some mysterious Nature power, but because it is deemed to be the abode of the soul of an historical person, affords good *prima facie* grounds for suspecting that sacred mountains, sacred rocks, sacred trees, and sacred rivers, at least in many cases, derive their sanctity not from a belief that they are the outward and visible signs of invisible natural forces, but rather from the assumption that they are the habitations of disembodied human souls.

The veneration for the Mahdi's tomb at Omdurman and that for Shahr-banu at Teheran are not isolated instances of the cult of historical personages by the professors of Islam. All over the Muhammadan world are the tombs of holy men to which the pious resort in their afflictions for help and comfort. Some of these have a purely local reputation, others, like that of the Prophet himself, enjoy a world-wide fame, and are the goals to which multitudes of pilgrims annually wend their weary ways. They are regarded not as the mere repositories of the bones of dead men, but as the abode of the living souls of the great and good departed, and hence those who enter such holy places hope to receive both spiritual and physical benefit from contact with the shrine. Nor are such blessings confined to the living, even the dead may participate in them. One or two examples will make this clear. At Tanta in the Egyptian Delta there is the shrine of a holy man, Sheikh Sayyid al-Badawi. Men and women stand motionless and silent by the iron gates of the tomb merely to be blessed by its presence and to gain a share in the spiritual benefits that are supposed to emanate from it. Dead bodies also are brought in and laid for a few moments by the tomb of the saint or simply carried round the chamber in order to obtain his blessing. A large iron box for offerings stands near the tomb-gates, and though nine-tenths of the people are very poor, their humble mites are said to amount to £40,000 a year.[2]

[1] Browne, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 226.

[2] E. A. Wallis Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, vol. ii, p. 3.

Like mediaeval Christian shrines and festivals there are many worldly diversions, not the least of which is the comic Karagoz Shadow-play.

Let us hear from the mouth of Lieutenant-Colonel Sykes, in his assumed character of a modern Persian gentleman, by name Nurullah Khan, not only a description of one of the most famous of Shiah shrines, but also of the feelings with which Muhammadans view such holy places.[1] This shrine is at Meshed, the capital of Khorasan. 'Nurullah Khan', in his pilgrimage to the 'Glory of the Shia World', thus writes: 'The shrine forms the centre of holy Meshed and round it lies the property of the Imam, who is still living. When the late Shah constructed the telegraph line from the capital (Teheran) to the sacred city he addressed the first message to the ever-living Imam, who graciously vouchsafed a reply.' The Imam here venerated, Riza, eighth in descent from Ali, was of such transcendent virtue that Mamun, son of Harun-al-Rashid, made him heir-apparent and even struck coins with both their names, ordering as well that the sacred green of the Imam should replace the black worn by the Abbasides. But suddenly he changed his mind and with his own hands gave poisoned grapes to the Imam, who soon after expired, and in accordance with his own wish was buried in the same shrine as Harun-al-Rashid. This sanctuary lay neglected for many generations, until it chanced that a son of the Vizier of Sultan Sanjar, when residing at Tus for his health, one day was hunting a gazelle. The frightened creature took refuge in the precincts of the shrine, and his horse refused to enter it. The youth dismounted, and realizing that he was on holy ground, was straightway cured. That night the Imam appeared to the wife of the Vizier in a dream, and when she heard of the miraculous recovery of her son, she informed the Vizier, and the news reached the Sultan, who at once gave orders that the shrine should be repaired, and other buildings added to it.[2] The fame of the Imam spread far and wide, and naturally the wealth and splendour of his abode waxed in proportion. Nurullah Khan thus describes it as it stands to-day: 'You must

[1] *The Glory of the Shia World*, the tale of a pilgrimage, translated and edited by Major P. M. Sykes, C.M.G., H.B.M. Consul-General in Khorasan, &c., assisted by Khan Bahadur Ahmad Din Khan (Macmillan, 1910), pp. 237 *sqq.* My friend Colonel Sykes, in a letter dated April 17, 1914, informs me that the descriptions of the shrine at Meshed here cited, and of the Hussein pageant at Yezd (p. 78), 'are perfectly accurate so far as I could make them'. The illustration of the group of fanatics here given (Fig. 4) is from a photograph taken on the spot at Meshed.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 238.

understand, O readers, that we approached the Sacred Threshold from the Upper Avenue and stooped to pass the chains, which we touched with our hands and then kissed while our guide recited an appropriate prayer. Inside on both sides were shops, which are famous throughout Asia.' After describing with admiration, not unmixed with some provincial jealousy, the magnificence of the carpets and silks there set forth, which he attributes not to the skill of the people of Khorasan, but rather to their proximity to the great marts of Bokhara, Samarcand, and Herat, he proceeds : ' Very soon we passed through a lofty gateway with an inscription warning the pilgrim that he was approaching holy ground, and we were informed that the court of dazzling richness which we had entered was the " Old Court ". If I tell you that the court was ninety by sixty metres, with four great porches, and that it was covered with tiles of many colours, which not only cannot be made except by Persians, but require the sapphire blue of the sky of Iran to show them in their perfection, you may faintly imagine its beauty. It is paved with huge stones and underneath lies the dust of thousands of pious Mussulmans. The court is two-storied, the upper row of chambers being occupied by the high officials of the shrine. The lesser officials, such as the carpenter, the goldsmith, and the repairer of the holy Korans, occupy the lower chambers, some of which have even been converted into tombs.' The effect of this fine description is somewhat marred by the further information that the shrine is now lit throughout by electricity. ' To continue, you may well comprehend that all the property belonging to the Imam is sacred, and that all those who flee from injustice receive sanctuary once they are inside the chains that hang across the road.' [1] No better illustration than this can be found for the doctrine of Right of Sanctuary which I have set forth elsewhere.[2]

Not least amongst that noble army of saints and martyrs, such as Imam Riza and the Sheikh of Tanta, are the Holy Family of Islam, Ali, Fatima, Hassan, and Hussein, whose sorrows and sufferings form the theme of a remarkable series of dramatic works. The Persian name for such a drama is *tazia*. For the history and meaning of this term, as well as for other help, I am indebted to my friend, Dr. R. A. Nicholson, Lecturer in Persian in the University of Cambridge : ' The word itself is Arabic, and in the older Arabic literature the original and literal meaning is " the action of enjoining patience " (either on oneself or on others), hence " consolation " (particularly for the loss of a kinsman or friend). In later times *aza*, a synonym of *tazia*, is

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 240–1.

[2] *Origin of Tragedy*, pp. 169 *sqq.*

applied, as Lane says in his Arabic Dictionary, to "the state or ceremony of mourning when relations and friends come to console the bereaved". The Persians use *tazia* in the sense of "mourning" and "condolence", e. g. *tazia dashtan*, "mourning" (for the dead), and *tazia-nama*, "a letter of condolence".' It is thus naturally applied to the commemoration of the noble and saintly dead by lamentations and dramatic representations of their sorrows. We shall soon see that the term *tazia* has received a curious extension of its meaning amongst the Shiahs of Hindustan.

This famous Passion Play was first made accessible to English readers by the labours of Sir Lewis Pelly, who having become deeply interested in the Drama, first in India and afterwards at Teheran, during a long residence on the Persian Gulf collected from oral tradition no less than fifty-two scenes, of which thirty-seven, ranging from 'Joseph and his brethren' to 'The Resurrection', were published.[1] Chief among these in reference to our present purpose are 'The Death of Fatima', 'The Martyrdom of Ali', 'The Martyrdom of Hassan, the son of Ali', 'The Martyrdom of Muslim, the envoy of Hussein to Kufa', 'The Departure of Hussein from Medineh for Kufa', 'The Withdrawal of Hussein from the road to Kufa', 'The Martyrdom of Abis and Shauzab in Defence of Hussein', 'A Night Assault on Hussein's Camp', 'The Death of Abbas, the brother of Hussein', 'The Martyrdom of Hashim', 'The Rescue by Hussein of Sultan Ghiyas from the jaws of a lion', 'The Lamentation of Hussein and his family for the loss of the martyrs in Kerbela', 'The Martyrdom of Hussein', 'The Field of Kerbela after the death of Hussein', 'The Flight of Shahr-banu from the Plain of Kerbela', 'The Dispatch of Hussein's family as captives to Syria', 'The Arrival of Hussein's family at Damascus', 'The Release of Hussein's family from Captivity', 'The Death of Kasim the Bridegroom' (husband of Fatima, daughter of Hussein), 'The Release of Fatima' (daughter of Hussein). Another one of no small importance, not given by Pelly, is the 'Pool of Kuhmm', celebrated at the annual festival to commemorate the constitution of Ali by the Prophet as his successor and heir, which is supposed by the Shiahs to have taken place at the pool of Khumm shortly before Muhammad's death. A throne was constructed near the pool of Camel-saddles, and Ali set thereon by the Prophet, who gave the Lion of Allah such a long and close embrace that by this act his virtues were

[1] *The Miracle Play of Hassan and Hussein.* Collected from oral tradition by Colonel Sir Lewis Pelly, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., &c., Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, revised with explanatory notes by Arthur N. Wollaston (1879, London).

transmitted to his illustrious son-in-law. This event is celebrated with much rejoicing wherever Persians reside. According to Professor E. G. Browne,[1] the verse of these *tazias* or miracle plays of Persia is simple and natural.

These performances have partly the character of processions and pageants, partly that of true drama with songs and dialogue. Let us again take Colonel Sykes in his character of Nurullah Khan as our guide and listen to his account of one of these striking pageants of which he himself was an eyewitness. He and his fellow pilgrims arrived at Yezd on the 6th day of Muharram, having purposely timed their arrival, inasmuch as they were bound to take part in this sad anniversary of the slaying of Hussein, Prince of Martyrs [2]:

'It is this awful tragedy that we Shias celebrate in the month of Muharram, and on the tenth day, the anniversary of the murder of the Imam Hussein, the Prince of Martyrs, there are always processions to remind us of the heartrending calamity. In Yezd each of the seventeen quarters prepares a procession, the cost of which is partly defrayed by the legacies of pious men. The procession I joined was headed by a band of men (Fig. 4), who, to honour the Imam by self-inflicted pain, had hung horseshoes, locks, and heavy chains to their bare bodies, and who by their example encouraged even little children to wound themselves in memory of the wounds of the Imam. Then came camels laden with tents and innumerable mules lent by their pious owners carrying baggage, followed by a hundred horses with shawls draped on their necks and by two hundred led horses. Behind these were thirty-five camels ridden by members of the Imam's family, representations of the seventy-two bodies of the martyrs (who fell with Hussein at Kerbela), seventeen heads on lances, and a band of Arab horsemen. Two singers of war-songs represented the two parties and engaged in a heated dialogue mingled with curses. Then came Hazrat Abbas, the standard-bearer, accompanied by eighty water-carriers. It was he who was slain when attempting to draw water from the Euphrates. Amongst the most conspicuous figures was a wooden house draped in black to represent the bridal chamber of Fatima, daughter of the Imam, who was married to her cousin Kasim just before the fatal day. A hundred dervishes, with their axes, horns, and lion or leopard skins, also formed part of the procession.

'The next scene was that of Yezid on his throne surrounded by his

[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 89.

[2] *The Glory of the Shia World*, pp. 197 *sqq.*, with figure which is here reproduced (Fig. 4) by the kind permission of Lt.-Col. Sykes.

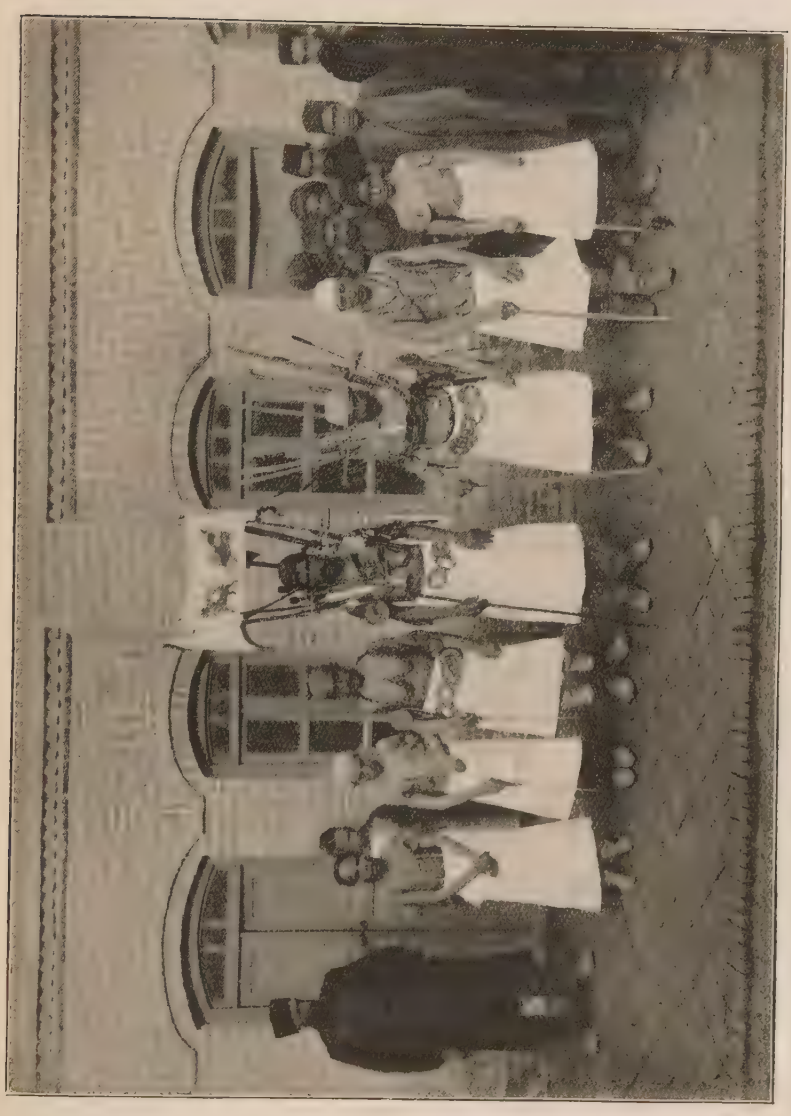

FIG. 4. Leaders of the Muharram Procession, Yezd.

Court, while eighty men beat two stones together and recited mournful verses. Nor must we forget the ambassador from Europe who, seeing Yezid insult the head of the dead Imam, fearlessly rebuked him before all his courtiers. Finally, there was a model of the tomb of the Imam surrounded by brave officers and soldiers of the ever-victorious army of Iran.

'In the different parts of the procession groups of two hundred men beat their breasts in rhythm, and as they advanced they recited :

> O our Imam Jafar !
> Hussein our Lord
> Has been murdered on the plain of Kerbela :
> Dust be on our heads.

'And so the procession moved in stately order to the square of Mir Chakmak, where there is an octagonal tile-covered pillar, which is peculiar to Yezd. There a halt was made, while an enormous structure, representing the bier of the Imam decorated with fine Kerman shawls and innumerable flags, mirrors, swords, and daggers (Fig. 5), was slowly carried round the square by five hundred men, who bore this heavy burden as a sacred privilege. It is the pride of the inhabitants of the village of Mohamedabad to render this unique service to the Imam ; and nowhere else in Persia is there such a huge bier. From the Square the procession passed to the palace, where the Governor loaded its organizers with gifts and released two prisoners convicted of murder ; and so back to its quarter, after having shown to men, women, and children the poignant tragedy of Kerbela, which will not be forgotten by us Iranis until the Day of Judgement.'

This description of the grand procession at Yezd can be well supplemented by the graphic account given by Mrs. Victoria de Bunsen [1] of the more purely dramatic performances, from which the following is condensed. 'There are first ten days of preparation, fasting, and dancing, prayer and lamentation. Then comes the night on which the central act of the drama, the death of Hussein, will be celebrated. This is the Shiah Good Friday, the tenth night of Muharram. The great *taziya* is performed in which are set forth the sufferings of the blessed martyr and his family.' Outside the wall of the city there is a flat and open space reserved for the performance of the Passion-play. In the middle of this open space stands a tall square structure of wood. It is decorated with little lamps, artificial flowers, and tinselled hangings. This is the Asshur-Khaneh, and it represents the mausoleum of Hussein in the desert. 'Here he was slain by the army of Yezid, his foe.' This

[1] *The Soul of a Turk*, pp. 280 *sqq.* (1906).

FIG. 5. The Muharram at Yezd; the Bier of Hussein in the background.

structure is described by Mrs. de Bunsen[1] as 'strangely resembling the baldachino of the Sepulchre at Jerusalem'. 'The ceremony has something of a military character, for was not Hussein slain on the battle-field? Bands play, drums are beaten, guns are fired. The crowds sit in rows on the ground for the most part, but extemporized boxes are reserved for some of the more notable worshippers. Near the Asshur-Khaneh is a rough sort of platform, on which one person after another mounts at intervals to attempt by pious recitals or by unconventional exhibitions of emotion to arouse the audience to the proper pitch of spiritual exaltation. Refreshments in the intervals, such as coffee and cigarettes, are handed round, but there is no sense of festivity. Then comes the procession from the city with the actors who are to perform in the sacred drama: banners wave, bands clash, voices sing in loud and nasal unison. They carry on high the sacred emblems of Shiism—the long lance crowned with a lime, to represent the head of Hussein borne on a spike, the horse-shoe in memory of his favourite horse Doldol, the coat of mail, the turban, the spear. As the procession advances, the crowd makes way and shouts with loud salaams the praises of Ali and all the Imams. The procession then groups itself round the Asshur-Khaneh. The principal actors kneel together on the stage. Then the selected preacher for the day comes forward to make his final appeal to the people. His theme is the Passion of Hussein: every detail of the suffering is lingered over, every incident causes a fresh outburst of weeping. Instead of the cross it is the desert waste and the parching thirst: instead of the disciples mourning it is the children and the holy women. Instead of Mary and Mary Magdalene it is Omm-Leyla and Zobeidah. Instead of the Mater Dolorosa of Christendom it is the Mater Dolorosa of Islam. Mary and Fatima suffer the same pangs over their dying sons. Hussein is the gate of paradise. In his name the believer may win it. Hussein sustains the world.'

The exhortations over—the drama itself begins. 'It does not vary its theme greatly. There is no complicated plot. Its only object is to impress the sorrows of Hussein on the mind, to give the people the opportunity, necessary in a religion so steeped in mysticism as Shiism, to suffer with their Lord, and become one with him in that suffering. The whole significance of the *ta'ziya* is a religious one. The literary merits are often considerable, but they are not appreciated. Nobody thinks of literary qualities. They come for worship, not for criticism. They are fellow sufferers rather than spectators. The

[1] *Loc. cit.*

ta'ziya is the sacrament of the Shiah faith. It is the sacramental feast of Islam, a feast of pain of which all partake together. No attention is paid in these days to scenery or to studied acting. The actors feel and live their parts, so they have no need of teaching. Its absolute reality for the people is its power over their hearts. The desert is represented by a handful of sand on the platform, the river Tigris by a leather basin full of water. The play to-night opens after the death of Hussein. His family are captives of Yezid, his enemy (p. 69). A *cortège* with the body of the *Imam*, borne high on camels and horses, appears on the scene. The captives bewail their fate in breaking accents. The caravan has stopped near a well in the desert, and Amer Ibn Said, the cruel general of the hostile forces, has pitched his tent to shelter him from the pitiless sun. All but the captives refresh themselves at the well. They, the women and the children, are dying of thirst. No drop of water is given them—the very babes cry for it. "Give me drink, drink—only one drop, good Zobeidah, I die of thirst." "Child, implore me not thus," the sister of the *Imam* replies, the woman who by reason of her strength and courage leads the forlorn little band. "You break my heart, child. Put your trust in God—there is comfort there." An interval of silence, then the wailing breaks out again. "Only one drop, only one drop." "Come lean on my breast, child—dry those tears—it kills me to see them." Humiliating her proud heart, Zobeidah creeps to the general's tent, and begs herself for water for the suffering babes. He refuses with insults, and she hurries back cursing him to offer them the hot tears to drink from her own eyes. Here the audience, unable longer to contain its fury against the enemy, howls execrations and oaths at Ibn Said in his tent, some even hurling stones and knives at him. For the parts of the enemy it is often necessary to provide prisoners, no volunteers being forthcoming in spite of the high pay offered. The play ends within the precincts of a Christian monastery. Here Ibn Said has taken refuge from the avenging armies of Mukhtar, who are pursuing him in the desert. The conversion of one of the monks to Islam is the climax. The heads of the dead prisoners are given in charge of the monks, and when the head of Hussein is raised on the top of a lance, the lips move, and the voice of the *Imam* himself is heard. "Who may it be?" asks the terrified monk. "I am the martyr of Kerbela," the head replies, "my name is Hussein." "There is no God but God," swears the recanting monk, "and Mohammed is His Prophet, and Ali, the friend of God." To the audience the illusion is complete. They have lived themselves through the terrible hours in

the desert. They have suffered with their Lord. Night has come, and with it silence.'

Just as the tomb of a hero plays such an important part in Greek Tragedy, frequently forming the centre of the scene, so in the two descriptions of the Muharram festival just cited, a model of the tomb of Hussein at Kerbela forms a chief feature. It is therefore not

FIG. 6. A *taziya*. Muharram Festival, Delhi.

surprising that the term *tazia*, when adopted as *taziya* into Hindustani, has acquired a new connotation of a distinctly material character, and is the regular name for the models of the tomb of Hussein at Kerbela which are carried by the Hindu Shiahs in the procession at the Muharram festival, and are then thrown into the river. For this information I am indebted to my friend, Mr. R. H. Macleod, I.C.S., Reader in Indian Law in the University of Cambridge.[1] By the

[1] Mr. Macleod not only speaks from his own knowledge but has furnished me with extracts from the chief Hindustani Dictionaries: Shakespear (1849),

kindness of my friend Sir J. H. Marshall, K.C.I.E., Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, and of Mr. M. Zaffar Hassan,[1] Assistant-Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Delhi, I am enabled to show (Fig. 6) one of these *taziyas*, and also (Fig. 7) a procession at Delhi 'representing the *taziyas* of Hassan and Hussein being taken to Kerbela for burial. The men immediately in front

FIG. 7. A Muharram Procession with the *taziyas* of Hassan and Hussein, Delhi.

of the *taziyas* are singing *Marthiyas*—accounts of their martyrdoms in poetry. The people on either side are only listeners '.

If it be urged that the Muharram celebration is a vegetation ceremony held in spring to revive vegetation, or at midwinter or

Duncan Forbes (1876), and Fallon (1879), in all of which, whilst the fem. *taziyat* means *consolation*, the masc. *taziya* is given with either the secondary or sole meaning of a model of the Hussein's sepulchre.

[1] In a letter dated Delhi, June 6, 1914.

midsummer to resuscitate or prolong the energies of the Sun-god, it is sufficient to point out that as the Muhammadan Calendar is lunar, the month Muharram is in no wise attached to any particular season of the year, as it most assuredly would have been if in its origin it had been bound up with any such vegetation festivals.

We have now followed the great Persian Passion Play from its historical origins to its modern developments as far as the Ganges. Who will deny that Muhammad, Ali, Fatima, Hassan, and Hussein are as historical as Thomas à Becket, Charlemagne, Julius Cæsar, or Jesus of Nazareth? But it may be said that the Martyr of Kerbela is enshrouded in the haze of mysticism. Yet does not the same hold true of Jesus of Nazareth, whose historical reality no sceptic can deny? Just as in the modern Passion Play of Ober-Ammergau it is the essential reality and humanity of Christ that draws out the devotion of the faithful, so is it with the Martyr of Kerbela and his worshippers. Hussein is no Vegetation spirit or Daemon of the Year, but a mortal man who lived, suffered, and died in A. D. 680.

Adonis. But centuries before Hussein fell at Kerbela, throughout those very lands where now there are solemn pageants, loud laments and self-inflicted gashes in honour of the Prince of Martyrs, similar celebrations were held year by year in honour of very different beings, of Adonis in Syria, Egypt, and Greece, of Thammuz in Babylonia, of Attis in Phrygia, and of Osiris in Egypt. As we have seen above (p. 19), Sir James Frazer finds in these cults striking examples of the decay and rejuvenescence of nature, of those ceremonies by which mankind, in what he terms the 'religious' as contrasted with his supposed earlier 'magical' stage, 'thought that they could help the god who was the principle of life in his struggle with the opposing principle of death, and of the religious or rather magical dramas which turned in great measure on these themes.' [1]

Let us first ascertain the salient facts of the Adonis cult. Theocritus in the most famous of his *Idylls* [2] has left an immortal picture of two ladies of Alexandria, Gorgo and Praxinoe, each attended by her maid, making their way through the densely crowded streets into the courtyard of the palace to see the Adonis, the chief feature in the festival prepared for the god by Queen Arsinoe. Breathless and panting at last they get inside and burst into rapture at the beauty of the embroidered hangings. Then Praxinoe exclaims, 'How lovely lies Adonis upon his silver couch! Youth's early down upon his tender cheek, the thrice beloved, loved even in Acheron.' After some words with a surly old gentleman who

[1] *Adonis, Attis, Osiris* (3rd ed., 1914), vol. i, pp. 3 *sqq.* [2] xv.

rebukes them for their incessant chatter, Gorgo says, 'Hush, the Argive woman's daughter is going to sing the Adonis lay. She is very clever; last year she carried off the prize for the dirge. She 's certain to sing well.' The singer begins by invoking Aphrodite the lady of Golgi, steep Idalium and Eryx, and tells her that after twelve months the Horae have brought Adonis back once again from Acheron. Men say that Aphrodite made immortal the mortal Berenice, and now in gratitude to her, Berenice's daughter Arsinoe adorns Adonis with all things lovely. Beside him lie ripe fruits, flowers growing in silver pots, golden boxes of Syrian spikenard, and all sorts of dainty viands fashioned into shapes of birds and beasts. On one couch lies the Adonis, another is set beside him for Aphrodite. To-day the Cyprian will enjoy her spouse. Soft is the down on his lip and soft will his kisses be. 'But with the morrow's dawn we shall bear him away and cast him into the foaming sea. There with our locks dishevelled, breasts bare, down-robed to our ankles, we shall begin a piercing dirge. Alone of all heroes has Adonis gained this boon—to die and live again—a boon denied to Agamemnon, Ajax, Hector, and the rest.'

From this account of the festival we may infer the beliefs of Theocritus and his contemporaries on several points. First, from the comparison of Adonis with the mighty ones of yore, whom all men in that age doubted not were once real kings, it is clear that Adonis also was held to have been once a mortal man. In the second place, not a word is said about a vegetation festival, but we are definitely told that Arsinoe in gratitude to Aphrodite, her mother's great patroness, provides, though but for one brief night, that goddess with her favourite. As the fruits include acorns, it is clearly not a spring vegetation festival, but, if anything, a harvest home. But there Adonis, the youth, would be quite out of place, for surely, if he typifies anything, it ought to be the springtime of the year.

In Western Asia and in Greek lands the death of the god was annually mourned with a bitter wailing, chiefly by women, close analogies to which we shall presently find in India at this hour. Images of him dressed to resemble corpses were carried out to burial, and then thrown into the sea, as at Alexandria, or into springs, a custom which reminds us forcibly of the practice amongst modern Shiah Muhammadans of casting in the river the little shrines or coffins of Hassan and Hussein. At Byblus in the great sanctuary of Astarte there was annually a like mourning for Adonis, weeping, lamentations, beatings of the breast, and the shrill voicings of the flute. But on the next day he was

supposed to come to life and to ascend to heaven to his spouse in the presence of his votaries, who, left disconsolate, shaved their heads, as did the Egyptians on the death of the Apis bull, the supposed embodiment of Osiris. This Phoenician festival is supposed to have been vernal, since its date was determined by the discoloration of the river Adonis, which, according to modern travellers, occurs in spring. The river, then swollen by floods, assumes a red tinge from the colour of the soil, and it was thus supposed to be incarnadined by the blood of young Adonis annually wounded by the boar on Lebanon. As according to some the scarlet anemone sprang from the young hero's blood, and as the flower blooms in spring, it has been assumed that his festival was to produce spring vegetation. Sir James Frazer[1] even relies upon an etymology which makes the ἀνεμώνη (*wind-flower*) from the Phoenician *naaman*, 'darling'; but there is no obvious reason why the Greeks should have gone to Syria to borrow a name for a flower very common in Greece.

At Athens, however, his festival fell at midsummer, as is certain from the fact that it coincided with the departure for Syracuse of the foredoomed Attic expedition in 415 B.C. As the troops marched down to the harbour, they passed through ways lined with coffins and corpse-like effigies and filled with the wails of women for Adonis. Seven centuries later Julian the Apostate entered Antioch amid like ill-omened sights and sounds. It is strange that if Adonis represented the resurrection of vegetation in the spring, his festivals at Athens and Alexandria should have been held in the full and late summer or autumn, whilst the evidence for its vernal celebration at Byblus is not of a convincing kind.

Let us now turn to the myth itself. Neither in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* nor in the Homeric *Hymn* to Aphrodite is there any mention of Adonis. According to a fragment of Hesiod cited by Apollodorus he was the son of Phoenix and Alphesiboea. According to Panyasis, also cited by Apollodorus, he was the son of the Assyrian king Theias by his daughter Smyrna. Another version makes him the son of the Cypriote Cinyras, the founder of Paphos and the first to introduce into Cyprus the worship of Aphrodite. By one story Cinyras married Metharne, daughter of the Cyprian king Pygmalion, and by her had Adonis, whilst another makes Adonis his son by his own daughter Smyrna or Myrrha. Cinyras, on discovering that he had been deceived by his daughter, sought her life. She fled, prayed to the gods to save her, and was turned into a tree (*smyrna*), which

[1] Frazer, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 226; W. Robertson Smith, 'Ctesias and the Semiramis legend,' *English Historical Review*, ii. (1882), p. 307, following Lagarde, &c.

after nine months burst asunder and a lovely child appeared. Aphrodite, captivated by its beauty, wished it for herself and gave it to Persephone to keep safe for her. But the latter was so charmed with her nursling that she refused to restore it. Zeus, being called in, decided that Adonis should live four months with Persephone, four with Aphrodite, and four where he pleased. These last he chose to spend with Aphrodite.

All versions agree in making him beloved of Aphrodite and slain by a boar. The fact that Adonis is not even mentioned in the Homeric *Hymn* to Aphrodite indicates that the cult was of foreign origin and did not reach the Greeks until a comparatively late date. As his festivals varied so much in time from place to place, and there is no sure proof of their occurrence anywhere in spring, the assumption that he is a spring vegetation spirit seems to lack foundation in fact, for there is no reason for regarding the wild boar as a type of winter any more than of lusty summer heat. Moreover, if, as is assumed, the Byblus festival was vernal, and the red waters of the river were his fresh blood shed by a boar on Lebanon, the obvious interpretation ought to be that Adonis was the spirit of winter and that the boar who slew him was the embodiment of spring or summer. Again, no stress can be laid on the fact that Adonis was celebrated with wails, with corpse-like images, and with little coffins. To-day in the regions where the son of Theias was mourned, Hussein, the grandson of the Prophet, meets with like honour. Moreover, we shall find that in India those who are cut off by sudden death or tragic accident early in youth are constantly deified and have festivals in their honour, such as Dhula, the boy bridegroom, who died on his wedding-day, Oadul, a Prince of Banapur, and others to be mentioned in due place (pp. 183–4). We are therefore led to the conclusion which Sir James Frazer now admits in the case of Osiris that, as under the pall of the Egyptian deity, 'the god who died and rose again, there once lay the body of a dead man', so under the coffin of Adonis lies the body of some young Asiatic prince cut off in the springtime of life by the onset of a charging boar.

Attis. 'Another of these gods', writes Sir James Frazer,[1] 'whose supposed death and resurrection struck such deep roots into the faith and ritual of Western Asia is Attis. He was to Phrygia what Adonis was to Syria. Like Adonis, he appears to have been a god of vegetation, and his death and resurrection were annually mourned and rejoiced over at a festival in spring. The legends and rites of

[1] *Adonis, Attis, Osiris* (3rd ed., 1914), vol. i, pp. 263–4.

the two gods were so much alike that the ancients themselves sometimes identified them.' But it must be at once pointed out that the authorities which he cites for the cult of Attis, especially those for the spring festival, are all late, Diodorus being the only one not post-Christian.[1] Moreover, the identification of Attis with Adonis rests only on the authority of Hippolytus (early third century) and Socrates (late fourth century), both Christian writers and living in an age when every god was being philosophized and identified with every other god. Accordingly, no more stress is to be laid on this identification than on that of Adonis or that of Osiris with Dionysus, or on that of Antinous with Hermes and Bellerophon.

There are several different accounts of the parentage and also of the death of Attis. According to Hermesianax, the elegiac poet (*flor.* 350 B.C.) cited by Pausanias,[2] he was the son of Calaus, a Phrygian, and was a eunuch from his mother's womb. When he grew up, he migrated to Lydia and celebrated the orgies of the Mother for the Lydians, who honoured him so highly that Zeus was incensed and sent a boar to ravage the fields, with the result that Attis and some Lydians were slain by the beast. Pausanias then adds the popular story of his own day (A.D. 180) that from the seed of Zeus sprang an hermaphroditic demon, by name Agdistis, and that from the male part sprang an almond tree. A virgin (by some named Nana), daughter of the river Sangarius, placed an almond from this tree in her bosom and bore Attis. When born he was exposed, but was tended by a he-goat. His beauty became more than human and Agdistis loved him. Attis was sent to Pessinus to wed the king's daughter; but as the hymeneal song was being sung, Agdistis appeared and Attis in a fit of madness mutilated himself, and so too did his father-in-law. But Agdistis repented and gained from Zeus a promise that no part of Attis should decay. He was buried on Mount Agdistus, at the foot of which lies Pessinus.[3] By another legend, and that an important one, he was appointed priest of Cybele on condition of perpetual chastity; but having broken his vow, in a fit of remorse he emasculated himself (an act not without parallel in modern times) as is related in the famous Galliambic poem of Catullus.[4] According to Servius (*flor.* A.D. 400) he unsexed himself under a pine-tree and bled to death,[5] a statement on which Sir James Frazer bases his doctrine that Attis was celebrated at a spring festival. According to Ovid and later writers he was

[1] Diodorus, Sallustius Philosophus, Scholiast on Nicander, and Firmicus Maternus.

[2] vii. 17. 9–12. [3] Paus. i. 4. 5. [4] lxiii. [5] *Ad Aeneid* ix. 115.

a Phrygian shepherd beloved by Cybele, whilst a scholiast on Lucian represents him as her son.[1] First of all, let us note that the folk-lore story of his preternatural origin on which Sir James Frazer depends for his vegetation theory is many centuries later than Hermesianax, in whose account there is nothing miraculous, Attis being merely represented as slain by a wild boar, a not infrequent occurrence in days when the peasant had no better weapons than his rude spear against fierce beasts. At Pessinus, near which Attis was buried according to one legend, there was a shrine of the Great Mother, very famous in late classical times, when it was tended by eunuch priests called Galli. But we know from the irrefragable evidence of Strabo[2] (which Sir James Frazer has apparently overlooked) that the fine temple there and its eunuch Galli were of quite late origin, a fact amply corroborated by the circumstance that the regular name for the eunuch priests of Cybele both at the Artemisium of Ephesus and at Rome was Galli. But it was only some time after 279 B.C. that the Gaulish tribes crossed into Asia and one of them made the old Phrygian town of Pessinus its capital, and accordingly the Gallic priests must be posterior to that date. 'In old days', says Strabo,[3] 'certain chiefs enjoyed the emoluments of the priesthood, but now their honours are diminished.' From these words it is clear that before the Gaulish conquest the local chieftain clan held the priestly office, as was commonly the case with royal families, and that there were no eunuch priests until after that event. Priests were often bound to chastity, and thus the legend which makes Attis a celibate priest who broke his vow may have had a foundation in fact. There are not a few cases of such breaches of sacerdotal vows in ancient authors. The sanctuary apparently consisted originally of a *temenos* or sacred precinct, until the Attalid kings at some time after 250 B.C. built a fine temple and colonnades of white marble. But it owed its real fame and importance to the fact that the Romans in the dire straits of their struggle with Hannibal and in obedience to a Sibylline oracle fetched from Pessinus to Rome (204 B.C.) a famous statue of the Great Mother. The outstanding facts, then, are: (1) there was at Pessinus an ancient sacred enclosure, possibly the burial-ground of the chieftain family; (2) they worshipped in it a goddess named Agdistis, who in the later myth was made into a monstrous hermaphroditic demon; (3) Attis was the son of a Phrygian of importance; (4) the late legend points in the same direction, as it makes him the bridegroom of the daughter of the King of Pessinus; (5) he was also

[1] Frazer, *loc. cit.* [2] 486, 9–20 (Didot). [3] Strabo, *loc. cit.*

said to be buried close by on Mount Agdistus; (6) in one story he is said to have been congenitally a eunuch, in another vowed to chastity, strange characteristics for a spirit of fertility; (7) it is clear that the eunuch priests were established only after the coming of the Gauls (after 279 B.C.), and possibly only after Attalus I had defeated the latter, become master of Pessinus, and built the famous temple. This is confirmed by the fact that Galli became the generic name for the priests of Cybele at Rome and elsewhere, as at the Ephesian Artemisium, where the appearance of Galli in later times has no significance, since we now know that only at a very late period was the worship of Cybele superimposed upon that of Artemis, who herself had supplanted an old Carian heroine; (8) the form of the legend which makes Attis unsex himself was probably invented, as Sir James Frazer suggests, to explain the existence of the Gallic eunuch priests at Pessinus and is therefore later than 279 B.C.

We may therefore conclude with some probability that in Attis, as in Adonis, we have one of those cases in which the tragic fate of some person, whether he was slain by a boar or died on his wedding-day, has led to his deification.

If it should turn out that in some, at least, of the rites and shrines of Cybele representations of the body of Attis were exhibited, as in the cases of Hassan and Hussein, of Adonis, and, as we shall soon see, of Osiris, then the evidence will point still more directly to his having been once a youth, whose tragic fate, like that of various Hindu historical personages presently to be cited, impressed his contemporaries and led to his worship. It seems likely that with the cult of Cybele Attis also passed to Rome in 204 B.C., as the Galli certainly accompanied their goddess. It seems clear that in the last century of the Republic and under the Empire Attis played no mean part in the spring festival of the goddess at Rome. On March 22 a pine-tree was cut in the woods and a bough of it was placed by a guild of tree-bearers in the sanctuary, where it was treated as a divinity. But once more it must be pointed out that all the authorities cited for this ritual by Sir James Frazer[1] are quite late, such as Julian, Johannes Lydus, Arnobius, Firmicus Maternus, and Sallustius Philosophus. The trunk of the tree was swathed like a corpse with woollen bands and decked with violets, since these flowers, said the legend, sprang from the blood of Attis, as red roses and red anemones did from that of Adonis. But these flower stories are useless as evidence that Adonis or Attis or any one else was a vegetation

[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 267.

spirit. It might as well be argued that because the local Cambridgeshire legend says that the beautiful purple pasque-flower (*Anemone pulsatilla*), which grows on the Devil's Ditch, sprang from the blood of the Danes killed there in their great defeat by Edward the Elder, therefore all Danes were vegetation spirits. The effigy of a young man, doubtless Attis himself, was tied to the middle of the stem. On the next day there was blowing of trumpets, and the third was the day of blood. The Archigallus or High Priest drew blood from his arms and presented it as an offering, whilst his subordinates performed a frantic dervishlike dance and gashed their bodies with knives and potsherds. 'This ghastly rite probably formed', says Sir James Frazer, 'part of the mourning for Attis,' and in this he is probably right, when we recall the similar practices at this hour in honour of Hassan and Hussein.

It must be confessed that there seems no more evidence for making Attis an ancient Asiatic vegetation divinity than for regarding as such the grandsons of Muhammad.

Antinous. But Adonis, Thammuz, and Attis were not the only handsome youths of Western Asia who were loved, deified, and honoured with temples and festivals. On coins of Bithynium[1] in Bithynia, struck in the second century after Christ, is the legend ΑΝΤΙΝΟΟΝ ΘΕΟΝ Η ΠΑΤΡΙΣ and the Hermes-like figure of a young man with a shepherd's crook, with a bull beside him, a tall plant or shrub before him, and a star over his head. On coins of Delphi, Calchedon, Smyrna, and other places he is termed *hero* (ΗΡΩΣ). As he is called *god* and *hero*, and has with him two objects which the Vegetationists always take to be sure indications of fertility and tree spirits —the bull and the shrub—and as on some contemporary coins of Bithynium appears Aphrodite, 'the great goddess of fertility,' there is as much evidence on these coins that Antinous was a vegetation spirit as has ever been adduced for Adonis or Attis, or even Dionysus himself. No one can doubt that the school referred to would have long since claimed Antinous as a deity of vegetation were it not for the ample historical evidence respecting him. A native of Bithynium, of low origin (possibly a shepherd, as he carries a crook), and of singular beauty, he became the favourite of the Emperor Hadrian, and accompanied him on all his expeditions. On one of these he perished in the Nile (A. D. 122), either by accident or suicide. Hadrian's grief knew no bounds. He rebuilt and named Antinoopolis, the town of Besa near the spot where his favourite was drowned, enrolled his name among the gods, caused temples to be erected to him in Egypt,

[1] Head, *Historia Numorum* (2nd ed.), p. 511.

and a splendid shrine at Mantineia (the mother-city of Bithynia), on coins of which town Antinous appears, as well as on those of many other places;[1] he had games celebrated in his honour, statues erected to his memory in all parts of the empire, whilst in one of his sanctuaries even oracles were delivered in his name, as they were in that of Dionysus on the Pangaean Mount and at Amphicleia in Phocis. Finally, a star between the Eagle and the Zodiac was termed the soul of Antinous and bears his name to this hour.

If a catamite could be raised to the godhead, be honoured with games, festivals and shrines, statues and coins, on the last of which he is accompanied by what Sir James Frazer and his followers, Mr. A. B. Cook, Miss Harrison, Mr. Cornford, and Professor G. G. Murray, assume to be unmistakable tokens of a vegetation spirit, we may safely rest in our conclusion that Adonis, Attis, and others like them, such as Dionysus and Aristaeus, were once real human personages like Hassan and Hussein.

III. ANCIENT EGYPT

We have seen how Sir James Frazer finds in the cults of Adonis, Attis, and Osiris ' striking examples of the decay and rejuvenescence of nature and of those ceremonies with which (as he assumes) mankind thought they could help the god who was the principle of life in his struggle with the opposing principle of death, and of the "religious" or rather "magical" dramas which turn in great measure on these themes'.

Osiris. As the annual celebration of Hussein is to-day a chief feature in the religious life of the Shiahs of Egypt, and as the ceremonies performed at least at one Muhammadan shrine in the Delta (p. 74) at this hour present several features which recall those appertaining to the cult of Osiris, which for several millenniums held the foremost place in the spiritual life of the ancient Egyptians, this will be a not unfitting place in which to survey the facts respecting that divinity, and to ascertain whether he was simply a corn spirit, as held by Sir James Frazer, or a phase of the Daemon of the Year, as assumed by Miss Harrison, Mr. Cornford, and Professor G. G. Murray, or whether he is not really as historical as are the sons of Ali and Fatima. Ample material for determining this question is provided for us by inscriptions and sculptures on Egyptian monuments going back as far as the Sixth dynasty, by numerous papyrus texts, many of which are of great antiquity, and which not infrequently are

[1] Head, *op. cit.*, pp. 242, 446, 512, &c.

illustrated with pictures of various scenes in the life and cult of Osiris and Isis, by a wealth of material representations of the divinity and his special symbol extending over very many centuries, and finally by the accounts of his cult in its later phases furnished by Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, Julius Firmicus Maternus, Macrobius, and others.

Herodotus, our earliest classical authority, informs us that Isis and Osiris were the only gods worshipped by all the Egyptians, and he terms Isis the Moon (Selene[1]), and Osiris Dionysus,[2] after the ordinary practice of the Greeks and Romans, who habitually identified the gods of other peoples with their own, often from some very superficial resemblance. Elsewhere[3] he identifies Isis with Demeter, for he states that the Egyptians hold Demeter and Dionysus to be the rulers of the dead, that the Egyptians were the first to promulgate the doctrines of the immortality of the soul, its transmigration into the lower animals, and its reincarnation after a period of thirteen thousand years in a human shape. He was led to his identifications by the fact that the Egyptians sacrificed swine to Isis and Osiris, as the Greeks did to Demeter and Dionysus,[4] and, secondly, because he thought that their festival in honour of Osiris agreed exactly with the Greek celebration in honour of Dionysus, except in the matter of choruses, and the use not of phalli but of indecent mechanical toys about a cubit long, which were carried round the villages, preceded by a flute-player and followed by the women.[5] Diodorus and Plutarch both refer also to an obscene symbol of Osiris, but there is not the slightest evidence for this in the native Egyptian material remains or papyrus texts. We shall find, as we proceed, that Osiris, in the course of several thousand years, had attached to himself the symbols of various local cults which he had overshadowed or absorbed. Now as the old king Men was represented by indecent images, many specimens of which survive, it seems highly probable that by the time of Herodotus the people had attached to Osiris the symbol of the old king. Herodotus[6] was told by the Egyptian priests that in the earliest period of their history the king was always a god, although his subjects were men, and that Horus, son of Osiris, after overthrowing Typhon, became the last of these divine monarchs. From what we know already, and what we shall learn as we proceed in our investigation respecting the deification of kings, not only after death, but even in their lifetime, we may not unreasonably infer from the statement of Herodotus that Osiris and Isis were once human rulers of Egypt. This *prima facie* case will be amply substantiated by the native Egyptian evidence, as well as by other Greek writers.

[1] ii. 42. [2] ii. 47. [3] ii. 123. [4] ii. 47. [5] ii. 48. [6] ii. 144.

Although in chronological order we ought to take first the account of Diodorus, who flourished in the last half of the first century before Christ, yet, as that given by Plutarch in his famous treatise *De Iside et Osiride* accords much more closely with the native accounts of Osiris, we shall take the latter first. The myth relates[1] that Osiris was the child of Cronos and Rhea, that he was born on the first of the five epagomenal days, i. e. those interpolated to bring up to 365 the 360 days of the year. Whether he reigned from the hour of his miraculous birth, or not till he had reached manhood, is not stated. As soon as he became king he lifted the Egyptians out of their miserable and beastlike condition of life by the institution of tillage, the establishment of laws, and by teaching them to honour gods. This done he went about the world drawing men to him not so much by the force of arms as by suasion combined with songs and music. From this circumstance the Greeks identify him with Dionysus. During his absence Isis administered the kingdom with great wisdom and prudence, but Typhon, her brother-in-law, was always intriguing. On the return of Osiris, Typhon determined to murder him and to seize his wife. To this end he hatched a plot, with seventy-two confederates, and, in addition, Aso, Queen of Ethiopia. He had made a *larnax* or coffer of great splendour, richly decorated. Next he invited Osiris and all the conspirators to a banquet, trapped Osiris into the *larnax*, the lid of which was at once shut and fastened down with nails and lead. The coffer, thrown into the Nile, passed out by the Tanitic mouth into the sea, and was eventually washed up at Byblus in Syria. Round it sprung up an *erica* tree, which by its miraculous growth soon enclosed the coffer in its huge trunk. In due time the King of Byblus, by name Malcandrus (i.e. Melcarth), had it cut down to form a pillar for his palace hall. His queen's name was Astarte. When Osiris was murdered, Isis was at Coptos. On hearing the news, she went in search of the body, and at last heard that it had been seen floating down towards the sea. By a divine monition she went to Byblus, fell in with the queen's handmaids, who brought her to the queen herself. Astarte made her nurse of one of her children. Isis gave the child her finger instead of her breast to suck, and at night she used to burn away the mortal parts of his body in the fire, whilst she herself in the form of a swallow flew round the pillar in which her husband's body was embedded, twittering plaintively. After she had treated the child thus for some time, the queen, one night, just like Metaneira in the Eleusis story (p. 25), saw her child burning, as she thought, in the fire. She uttered

[1] *De Iside et Osiride*, pp. 403–4 (Reiske).

a shriek, thereby depriving him of the immortality which Isis had designed for him. Then Isis revealed herself to the queen, told her tale, and begged for the pillar. She removed it on her prayer being granted, cut out the coffer, then wrapped the pillar in fine linen, anointed it with unguents, and restored it to the king and queen. They sent it to the temple at Byblus, where it was henceforth adored by the citizens.[1]

This replica of the story of Demeter and the boy Demophon is sufficient to show that the Byblus episode is a late Hellenic addition to the native Egyptian legend. Dr. Budge[2] thinks that the tree-trunk story arises from 'a confusion with the *tet* or sacred symbol of Osiris, the raising up of which was one of the most sacred ceremonies of the great festival of that god'. Isis set out for Egypt, and soon after opened the coffer, threw herself on her dead husband and wept bitterly. Her little son, who was with her, stole up behind her. In her anguish she suddenly turned round, and her look was so terrible that he died of fright. Another account declares that he fell overboard and thus perished. He is honoured on account of the god, for he is that Maneros sung by the Egyptians at their feasts. When Isis reached Egypt, she placed the *larnax* in a lonely spot, and set out to seek her son Horus, who was being reared at Butis. Typhon, as he was hunting by moonlight, discovered the coffer, and recognizing the body of Osiris, cut it up into fourteen pieces and scattered them about the land. When Isis heard of this fresh outrage, she set out to gather the scattered parts of Osiris, journeying from place to place in the Delta in a boat made of papyrus, a plant sacred to her. No crocodile dared attack her in this reed boat, and so to this day men make their boats of papyrus, because they believe that in them they are safe from these beasts. Isis was successful in her quest, and wherever she found a portion of her husband she buried it and raised a tomb over it. This explains why there are so many tombs of Osiris in Egypt.

Some say that Isis buried only figures (*eidola*), and pretended that they were parts of his body, in order to make his worship general and to confuse Typhon by the number of tombs of Osiris. Isis found all the parts of Osiris save his *genitalia*, which had been cast by Typhon into the Nile, and had been eaten by the lepodotus, phagrus, and oxyrhynchus fishes, which for this reason are regarded as holy[3] by the Egyptians. Isis made a figure of it, which was ever after used in commemorative festivals. Osiris presently returned from

[1] Plutarch, *op. cit.*, pp. 406–10 (Reiske). [2] *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 6.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 412. Cf. Strabo, 690. 20.

the other world, exhorted Horus to do battle with Typhon, and in a great fight, lasting several days, the murderer of Osiris was at last taken prisoner and handed over to Isis. In pity for his plight she cut his bonds and set him free. At this Horus was so enraged that he tore the royal diadem from her head. Thoth, however, gave her a crown in the shape of a cow's head. Typhon then charged Horus with illegitimacy. The matter was tried before the gods, and by the advocacy of Thoth, Horus was able to prove his legitimacy. Later Isis was embraced by Osiris, and Harpocrates was the fruit of this ghostly union. 'Such are the principal facts of this famous story, omitting the more harsh and dreadful parts of it, such as the dismemberment of Horus and the beheading of Isis.'[1]

According to Dr. Budge, Rhea corresponds to the Egyptian Nut or Sky-goddess, and Cronos to the Egyptian Neb or Earth-god. The story of the throwing of the coffer with the body of Osiris into the Nile, and its landing at Byblus, is certainly a late Greek addition to the native Egyptian legend. The king, Malcandrus, and his queen, Ashtoreth, are, of course, the Phoenician deities Melcarth and Astarte, whilst the story of the coming of Isis, her meeting with the handmaids of Astarte, her taking service as nurse to the queen's son, her intention of making him immortal by placing him each night in the fire, and the prevention of her design by the mother's discovery and her natural anger, all repeat the incidents in the famous Greek myth embodied in the Homeric *Hymn* to Demeter composed not later than the seventh century before Christ. Maneros, regarded by Plutarch's authorities as a son of Isis and Osiris, was identified[2] with the Greek Linus by Herodotus, who states that the *threnos* termed Maneros was named from the first Egyptian king's only son, who perished young, that 'the Egyptians honour him with these dirges, and that they declare this to have been their first and only song'. It is not without significance for our inquiry that Egyptian tradition should ascribe their first and only dirge to the honouring of a human prince, and not to a mere abstraction.

Though Plutarch speaks of Osiris as the son of Rhea and Cronos, he states elsewhere,[3] when speaking of the hieroglyphic writing, that the Egyptians denote their king and lord Osiris by an eye and a sceptre, and that some interpret his name as the 'many-eyed', *os* meaning 'many' and *iri* denoting 'eye' in the Egyptian. Plutarch was not far astray respecting the hieroglyph of Osiris, since according to Dr. Budge[4] the oldest forms of the two signs which compose it are

[1] Plutarch, *op. cit.*, p. 415.
[2] ii. 79.
[3] Plutarch, *op. cit.*, p. 398.
[4] Budge, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 25.

first the hieroglyph for 'seat, throne, or place', and secondly that for the 'eye'.

Elsewhere Plutarch[1] gives a physical explanation of the myth of Osiris, Isis, and Typhon. According to this theory Osiris is the Nile and is married to Isis, who is the Earth. Typhon is the Mediterranean into which the Nile disappears, save for the water which is absorbed by the earth, and which fertilizes it. Accordingly the Egyptian priests abhorred the sea, terming it the foam of Typhon, and laid under a taboo the placing of sea-water on the table. Furthermore, they would not hold converse with shipmen because they have their business in the sea. Again, the enclosure and death of Osiris in the coffer is explained on a like principle, this simply typifying the subsidence of the Nile and the reappearance of the land, and it is alleged that the day of his murder is placed on the 17th of the month Athyr because, owing to the cessation of the Etesian winds at that season, the Nile subsides and the land is laid bare. At that season, too, the nights are growing longer and the light is being overpowered. At that period the priests celebrate various rites, amongst which is the dressing in a black linen garment of a bull, decked richly with gold. They consider that this animal is an image of Osiris, and that the Earth mourns for him continuously for the four days that follow the 17th day of the month Athyr.[2]

On the night of the 19th (21st ?) the people at Sais went down to the sea, the priests bearing a sacred coffer which contained a gold casket. Into this they poured fresh water and thereupon all present shouted that the god was found. Then they mixed fertile soil with water and with costly spices and frankincense, and moulded the paste into a little moon-shaped image, which they dressed and adorned, in token that they regarded the essence of earth and water as divine. According to Lactantius,[3] on these occasions the priests with their bodies shaven beat their breasts and lamented, to imitate the mournful quest of Isis for the body of Osiris, whom this writer strangely takes to be her son and not her husband. This mourning was turned into joy when a priest personating Anubis by wearing a jackal-faced mask suddenly produced to the people a boy as the living representative of the god.

Two remarks may be made on this extract. In the first place, there is nothing at all improbable in the statement that the worshippers of Osiris commemorated his murder by lamentations and self-

[1] Plutarch, *op. cit.*, vol. vii, pp. 435–6 (Reiske). [2] *Id.*, 446.

[3] *Diuin. Institut.* i. 21; *id., epitome inst. diuin.*, 23 (ed. Brandt and Laubmann).

inflicted wounds, since, as we have seen above (p. 78), the followers of Hussein to this hour similarly lament and gash themselves with knives. In the second place, it is clear that the classical authorities on which Sir James Frazer bases his theory that Osiris is the corn spirit belong to a period long after Christ, when the cult of Osiris had wandered far from its original conception.

The tendency to philosophize away Osiris and Isis, which is so evident in Plutarch, is much more obtrusive in the account of Diodorus.[1] 'The early generations of men', writes he, 'thought that there were two principal gods that are eternal, the Sun and the Moon; the former they called Osiris, the latter Isis. The name Osiris means "many-eyed" (πολυόφθαλμος), and it is rightly applied to the Sun, who darts his rays everywhere, seeing as it were with many eyes all that is on land and sea. The name Isis means "ancient", and has from time immemorial been given to the Moon. Osiris and Isis govern the whole world, and they foster and protect everything in it, and they divide the year into three parts, spring, summer, and winter. After Hephaestus, the next king to reign over Egypt was Cronos, who married his sister Rhea, and became the father of Osiris and Isis. Others say that Zeus and Hera were the rulers of Egypt, and that from them five gods were born, one upon each of the five epagomenal days—Osiris, Isis, Typhon, Apollo, and Aphrodite. Those who hold this view identify Osiris with Bacchus, and Isis with Demeter. Osiris married Isis, and after he became king he did much for the benefit and advancement of mankind in general. He abolished cannibalism, which was common in Egypt; he taught the people to plough and to sow, and raise crops of wheat and barley. Isis showed them how to make bread, and was the first to teach them the use of wheat and barley; for this reason they offer to Isis the firstfruits of the ears of corn at harvest, and invoke her powerful aid with loud cries. It is also said that Isis instituted laws and salutary punishments for wild and violent men. Osiris was greatly devoted to agriculture; he was brought up at Nysa, a town in Arabia Felix, where he discovered the use of the vine. He was the first to drink wine, and taught men how to plant the vine, and how to make and preserve wine. He held Hermes (the Egyptian Thoth) in high honour, because of his ingenuity and power of quick invention. Hermes taught men to speak distinctly; he gave names to things which had none previously; he invented letters, and instituted the worship of the gods; he invented arithmetic, music, and sculpture, and devised a system of astronomy. He was the confidential scribe of Osiris, who invariably took his

[1] Book I, chap. 11, *sqq.*

advice on all matters. Osiris raised a great host and resolved to go about the world teaching mankind to plant vines and sow wheat and barley. When he had made all ready in Egypt, he entrusted the whole kingdom to Isis, making Hermes, his trusty scribe, her assistant. Of the forces left at home he made Heracles, his kinsman, a man of great strength, the commander. Osiris took with him Apollo (in Egyptian, Horus), Anubis, who wore a dog's skin, Macedo, who wore a wolf's skin, Pan, and various skilful husbandmen. As he marched through Ethiopia, a troupe of Satyrs was presented to him; he was fond of music and dancing, and therefore added them to the company of musicians which he had in his train. Having taught the Ethiopians the arts of tillage and husbandry, he built several cities in their country. He set governors over the land and continued his march. On the borders of Ethiopia he raised the river banks, took precautions to keep the Nile from inundating the neighbouring country, and constructed canals with floodgates and sluices. He then marched by way of Arabia into India, where he built many cities, including Nysa, in which he planted the ivy plant. He took part in several elephant hunts, and faring westwards he brought his army across the Hellespont into Europe. In Thrace he slew Lycurgus, a barbarian king, who refused to adopt his system of government. Osiris became a benefactor of the whole world by finding out food which was suitable to man, and after his death he gained the reward of immortality and was honoured as a god. For some time the priests concealed the manner of his death, but at last some of them, unable to keep the secret, divulged it. Osiris was in fact murdered by his wicked brother Typhon, who broke up his body into twenty-six pieces, and gave a piece to each of his fellow conspirators, to make them as guilty as himself, and thus to force them to place him on the throne of Osiris and to defend him when once there.

'Isis, with the aid of her son Horus, avenged her husband's murder and got possession of the throne of Egypt. She searched for and found all the fragments of her spouse's body but one. These she reunited by means of wax and aromatic spices, and thus restored the body to its natural size. She then sent for the priests and told each of them that she was going to entrust to him the body of Osiris for burial, and she assigned to them one-third of the country as an endowment for his cult. She also ordered them to dedicate to Osiris one of their cattle, and to pay to it both in its life and after its death the same veneration as they did to Osiris. The priests obeyed, and the animal dedicated to Osiris was the bull. They renewed their mourning for him over the graves of two bulls in

particular, Apis and Mnevis.[1] Isis also bade them make models of the missing part of Osiris, and they were adored in the temples and generally held in great veneration. Isis then vowed never to marry again, and she spent the rest of her days in dealing forth justice amongst her subjects, excelling other princes in almsdeeds to her own people. After her death she was numbered among the gods ; her tomb, according to some, is at Memphis, to others at Philae. She is reputed to have discovered many simples, and to have had great skill in leechcraft. Even as a goddess she takes thought of healing men's bodies, and to all who seek her aid she appears in dreams and gives them relief. Persons of whom physicians have despaired have been restored to health by her, the lame have been made to walk and the blind to see by her potent aid. Among the remedies which she is said to have discovered was one which could restore the dead to life. When her son Horus had been killed and thrown into the water by Titans, by giving him this medicine she not only restored him to life, but made him immortal. From his mother Horus learned the arts of physic and divination, which he used for the good of men.' [2]

Our next classical authority is Julius Firmicus Maternus, who flourished in the fourth century of our era. He wrote a treatise, *De errore profanarum religionum ad Constantium et Constantem Augustos.* This work must have been written before A.D. 350, in which year the Emperor Constans died. The object of the essay was to show, as Clement of Alexandria had done long before, the falsehood of the different forms of pagan belief, to trace the steps by which men fell away from the service of the true God, by raising mere men to the rank of deities and by personifying the powers of Nature. Concerning Osiris he thus writes [3] : ' Osiris and Isis were brother and sister, and Typhon was the husband of Isis. Typhon, on discovering that Isis had an illicit passion for her brother, treacherously slew him. He tore the body in pieces and scattered the quivering limbs along the banks of the Nile. Isis, in horror, thrust her husband, Typhon, from her, and taking with her her sister, Nephthys, and the dog-headed Anubis, she resolved to seek the limbs of Osiris and to bury them. With the aid of Anubis she found and buried them. Osiris, who had been a just man, was henceforth worshipped in the temples under the form of a portrait figure. Typhon, on account of his pride, haughtiness, and arrogance, was held in abomination. In the shrines of Osiris his murder and dismemberment were annually commemorated with weeping, wailing, and great lamentation. His worshippers

[1] Strabo, 685. 48, 682. 36, 684. 9. [2] Diodorus Sic. Book I, chap. 35.
[3] Ed. Münter, 8vo, Hauniae, 1826.

shaved their heads and beat their breasts, gashed their shoulders, and inflicted other wounds on their bodies in imitation of the cuts and gashes that Typhon made in the body of Osiris. Whenever possible they cut into the scars left by the gashes of the preceding year, in order that the remembrance of the hateful murder of Osiris might be renewed in their minds. When they have done this for a certain number of days they pretend that the mutilated remains of the god have been found and reunited. Then they turn from mourning to rejoicing. Those who defend these practices say that grain is the seed of Osiris, that Isis is the Earth, and that Typhon is heat.' Elsewhere he states that in the mysteries of Isis a pine-tree was cut down and hollowed out, and that from the pith was made a figure of Osiris, which was then buried, and after the lapse of a year was burned.[1]

It is clear that Firmicus Maternus, like other ancient writers, believed that Osiris had been a real king, deified on account of his virtues and tragic end, whilst it is no less apparent that he regarded as a later accretion the doctrine of those who defended the cult of Osiris on the ground that grain was his seed, or in other words, that he was a corn spirit, as held by Sir James Frazer. Moreover, the wailing and self-inflicted wounds of his votaries resemble so closely the practices in memory of Hussein (p. 78), that we are constrained to hold with Firmicus Maternus that the like acts in the temples of Osiris were in commemoration of a dead hero rather than mere magical rites to ensure fertility.

Macrobius (*flor.* A. D. 400) held that Osiris is the Sun and Isis the Earth, in the case of Osiris repeating what had been said by Diodorus four centuries earlier, and in the case of Isis the view given by Plutarch in the physical explanation of the legend cited above (p. 99). Macrobius,[2] in support of this view that Osiris is the Sun, states that the Egyptians represent the god in their hieroglyphs under the form of a sceptre with an eye in it, and that by this they indicate that the god is the Sun, who from his exalted position looks

[1] *Mythologici Latini* (ed. Commelinus, 1599, p. 299): 'In Isiacis sacris de pinea arbore caeditur truncus. Huius trunci media pars subtiliter excavatur. Illis de seminibus factum idolum Osiridis sepelitur. . . . Sed et illa alia ligna quae dixi, similis flamma consumit, nam etiam post annum ipsorum lignorum rogum flamma depascitur.'

[2] *Saturn.*, Book I (Panckoncke's ed., vol. i, p. 253): 'nec in occulto est neque aliud esse Osirin, quam solem, nec Isin aliud esse, quam terram, ut diximus, naturamve rerum . . . hinc Osirin Aegyptii, ut solem esse asserant, quoties hieroglyphicis litteris suis exprimere volunt, insculpunt sceptrum, inque eo speciem oculi exprimunt, et hoc signo Osirin monstrant, significantes hunc deum solem esse, regalique potestate sublimem cuncta despicere.'

down upon the Universe. He thus repeats the account of the hieroglyphic name of Osiris given by Diodorus and Plutarch, both of whom, however, as we have seen, interpreted it as ' many-eyed '.

Let us briefly survey the chief points that emerge from these various accounts of Osiris and Isis. (1) Herodotus, Diodorus, Plutarch, and Julius Firmicus Maternus all agree that Osiris was once a mortal man, the first three regarding him as an ancient king of Egypt or of part of Egypt. (2) This is confirmed by the accounts of the murder of Osiris, and the dismemberment and subsequent embalming of his body, which clearly indicate that the Egyptian sources on which the Greek writers drew, regarded Osiris as a mortal king. This we shall find amply substantiated by the numerous figures of Osiris, in which he is regularly represented as a mummy or as a dead man laid out for burial. (3) Herodotus, Diodorus, and Plutarch all refer to the *phallus* as the special symbol of Osiris, to its worship in shrines and its use in festivals. But for this we shall find not the slightest proof in the whole range of native Egyptian evidence. It will probably turn out that the Greeks confused the cult of Men, in which the phallus had part, with that of Osiris. (4) Herodotus, Diodorus, and Plutarch all identify Osiris with the Greek Dionysus, Herodotus certainly and the other two probably being led to this identification, partly by their false supposition that the phallus was the symbol of Osiris, partly by the fact that Osiris was represented as a beneficent king, who not only taught his people the use of cereals, but also of wine. Diodorus and Plutarch thus attribute to Osiris a close connexion with Nysa and a great expedition into India and back, one making him return by the Hellespont to Thrace, punish Lycurgus, and establish himself there exactly as in the legends of Dionysus. (5) Without doubt these are quite late Greek additions to the story which probably arose in Ptolemaic times in Egypt. This is confirmed by what we have found in the story of Isis. (6) Herodotus identifies that goddess not only with the Moon (Selene) but also with Demeter, citing as evidence the similarity of the sacrifices and rites at the festivals of both goddesses. This identification of Isis with the Earth-Mother Demeter became general in classical and post-classical times, since Diodorus, Plutarch, and Macrobius all identify her with the Earth. (7) This identification of the goddess Isis with Demeter led to the wholesale adaptation of the story of the coming of Demeter to Eleusis, told in the Homeric *Hymn* to Demeter, to the legend of Isis and her arrival and subsequent behaviour at Byblus. We may therefore regard the Dionysiac and Demeter element in the story of Osiris and Isis as wholly un-Egyptian, and

consequently any theories built upon them with reference to the origin of the cult of Osiris must be rejected. (8) As we move from the earlier to the later writers, the human Osiris and Isis are steadily fading and physical explanations are steadily forcing their way. With the first four authorities Osiris is an old Egyptian king. Although Herodotus identifies him with a Greek god, it is not with the Sun, but with Dionysus, the Thracian hero ; a view likewise held by Diodorus and Plutarch. The latter two, however, have, in addition, physical explanations which identify Osiris with the Sun or the Nile, and Isis with the Moon or the Earth, as Herodotus has already done. Finally, Macrobius has only one explanation—that Osiris is the Sun, and Isis the Earth, the human element having now completely disappeared. (9) The Greeks were perhaps led to identify Osiris with the Sun, because one of Osiris' bulls—the Mnevis—was adored at Heliopolis, the city of the Sun, where there took place in the time of Herodotus [1] a festival held in honour of the Sun-god. As we proceed it may turn out that Osiris, in addition to absorbing into himself many old local Egyptian divinities, finally even became merged into the cult of the Sun. (10) Herodotus [2] distinctly shows that there was a rude dramatic performance connected with what he thought was the cult of Osiris (p. 95), but which may well have been rather that of Men. Firmicus Maternus, moreover, shows that some sort of Passion Play, with wailings and laments, recalling those for Hussein at the Muharram (pp. 78 *sqq.*), took place in the festivals of Osiris.

Our next step will be to examine the large mass of native Egyptian evidence collected by Dr. E. A. Wallis Budge [3] in his valuable book, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, a work to which I have been continually indebted in writing the following section.

Osiris from the Egyptian Sources. 'The idea of the god-man, Osiris,' writes Dr. Budge,[4] 'was developed naturally from the cult of the ancestor, who, having been a man, was supposed to be better able to understand the wants of living men than the great unknowable God, whose existence was but dimly imagined.' Again he writes[5]: 'Osiris as the typical god-man, who died and rose again, is represented in the form of a mummy (Fig. 8), or at all events in the form of a dead body, which has been made ready for burial. This form is a development of an ancient presentment of a dead chief or ancestor, for Osiris took the place of the tutelary ancestor-god who was honoured and worshipped in every village of the Sudan of any size

[1] ii. 63, 69. [2] ii. 48. [3] London, 1911.
[4] *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 22. [5] *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 30.

from time immemorial. This ancestor-god was chosen to be the patron and protector of the village on account of either the strength or the wisdom which he had displayed when upon earth, and many modern travellers have put on record that figures of ancestors still occupy prominent positions in African villages and settlements. Often they stand under a rude canopy formed of branches and leaves, which is supported by poles, but sometimes, like the figures of spirits and gods, they are provided with small huts or houses. As it has always been the custom to reserve ceremonial burial for the bodies of kings, chiefs, and men of high rank, it is clear from the traditional accounts of the burial of Osiris and of the numerous ceremonies which were performed in connexion with it that he must have been a great and powerful king. Moreover, the figure of the god which appears on sepulchral stelae of the latter part of the Middle Empire, and the reliefs sculptured on the walls and pillars of temples of the New Empire, to say nothing of the fine vignettes in papyri of the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties, all represent him as a great king, and in all essentials and special characteristics of the god they agree.'

No representations of Osiris have come down to us from the Ancient Empire, but 'it is, however, well known that the position of Osiris as the god-man was well established in the minds of the Egyptians at the beginning of the Dynastic period, and that even at this remote time he was regarded as the head of a small company of five gods, each of whom was endued by his worshippers with human attributes'. Osiris was a good, benevolent, and just king, who was murdered by his brother Set. Isis, his sister and wife, was a faithful and loving consort, who protected him and his interests with unremitting care during his life, and cherished his memory unceasingly after his death. She endured sorrow, pain, and loneliness in bringing forth his son, Horus, in the papyrus swamp. 'As he grew up she taught him that it was his duty to avenge his father's murder and encouraged a warlike spirit in him. Nephthys, her sister, attached herself to her with loving faithfulness, and assisted Isis, by word and deed, in all the trouble which she suffered through the murder of her husband and through the poisoning of her son Horus. Set was the husband of Nephthys and begat by her An-pu (Anubis), who acted as embalmer of Osiris. Thus we see that the Egyptians regarded these gods and goddesses as a sort of Holy Family.' 'Isis was the ideal wife and mother and the perfect woman, and even before the death of the last native king of Egypt she held in the hearts of her worshippers a position somewhat similar to that held by

FIG. 8. 'Osiris Khenti-Amenti' with the hawk in front.[1]

[1] My own specimen.

the Virgin Mary in the hearts of many Oriental Christians in Egypt, the Sudan, Abyssinia, and Western Asia.[1]

'Somehow and somewhere[2] the belief arose that this particular god-man Osiris had risen from the dead, as the result of a series of magical ceremonies, which were performed by Horus, his son, under the direction of the great magician-priest, Thoth, and with the help of the embalmer or medicine-man, Anubis, and it grew and increased until it filled all Egypt. The fundamental attractions of Osiris-worship were the humanity of the god and his immortality, and to these were added later the attributes of a just but merciful judge, who rewarded the righteous and punished the wicked. That these appealed irresistibly to the Egyptians of all periods is proved by the absorption into Osiris of all the other gods of the dead in Egypt.'

I have thought it best to give this admirable statement in Dr. Budge's own words, as he cannot be suspected of having a bias towards any particular doctrine of the Origin of Greek Tragedy or of Tragedy in general.

But it was not merely the other gods of the dead whom he absorbed, for clearly 'from the XIIth dynasty downwards there is hardly a local god of any importance with whom Osiris was not sooner or later identified'. Grain-spirits, tree-gods, animal-gods, reptile-gods, bird-gods, all were absorbed by Osiris, and additions to his attributes continued to be made until his original form disappeared under a mass of confused and often contradictory descriptions.[3] 'But so long as the priests gave to the people, whose old local gods had been dispossessed by Osiris, the essentials which their beliefs demanded, they were content.'[4] We are able to identify from the Egyptian texts the originals of many of these additions. He thus becomes identified in the first place with the corn spirit, and is then widened into the spirit of vegetation in general. By becoming the god of vegetation in general he became regarded as the controller of the seasons, and thus invaded the prerogative of Thoth, the magician-priest and rain-maker, and finally, as the part played by the Nile in the economy of Egypt was all-important, he eventually became endowed with the powers of Hep, or Heper, the great god of the Nile. In the papyrus of Hunefer his throne is placed by or above a lake of water. From this fact arose the late physical explanation given by Plutarch, by which Osiris is identified with the Nile and his death with the falling of that river. He is identified with the Bull-god, Apis and Mnevis, and in *The Book of the Dead* he is addressed as the Bull of Amentet,

[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 28–30.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 22–3.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 22.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

i.e. the bull of the other world.[1] The female counterpart of an early Bull-god was the Cow-goddess, Hathor, whose ancient shrine and cult-image in the shape of a cow has not long since been discovered by Professor Naville at Dehr-el-Bahari, where numerous votive plaques (Fig. 9), with representations of the goddess in her later phase with human head and cow's ears are likewise found. But the attributes of Hathor were absorbed by Isis before the downfall

Fig. 9. Isis-Hathor. Votive plaque, Dehr-el-Bahari.[2]

of the Ancient Empire, probably about the same time as the Bull-god was merged in Osiris. This identification of Osiris with Apis was known to Diodorus (pp. 101–2), who also identifies him with the Mnevis bull worshipped at Heliopolis,[3] but Herodotus identifies Apis, not with Osiris, but Epaphus.[4] Strabo describes the shrine of Apis at Memphis, the colour of the sacred bull—black all over save for a white

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[2] From a plaque given me by my friend Mr. C. T. Currelly, O.Medj., Director of the Royal Museum, Toronto, Canada.

[3] Strabo, 682. 36 *sqq.* (Didot). [4] ii. 153.

blaze on the forehead and a few small white spots on his body—as well as the mode of housing him and of showing him to visitors. The same writer mentions the sacred Hathor cow at Momemphis.[1]

The bull Apis was supposed to incarnate the living soul of Osiris, and according to Plutarch[2] this animal was begotten, not by a bull, but by a generative ray of light from the moon which rested on his dam at the time of conception. With all this absorption of the attributes of other deities it is not surprising that the phallic symbol ascribed by Greek writers to Osiris and his cult, and on which recent writers build so much, was not his until quite late, but really that of Men, the old king. There is some evidence that Osiris was at one time considered as a Moon-god, even by the Egyptians themselves. Thus Plutarch states that the twenty-eight years of the reign or life of Osiris signify the twenty-eight days of the lunar month, and that the fourteen pieces into which his body was rent similarly typify the fourteen days which elapse between that of the full moon, on which he perished, and the new moon. Plutarch, no doubt, offered an explanation current in his own day when physical theories of the gods were universal, and it is quite possible that he drew from some Egyptian source. Thus a text at Denderah[3] states that Osiris was torn into fourteen pieces, but several other texts mention sixteen. *The Book of the making the Spirit of Osiris* enumerates eighteen, whilst Diodorus (*supra*, p. 101) gives the number as twenty-six. From this it is clear that the number fourteen must have only been suggested in the period when it had become the fashion to philosophize the gods into astronomical phenomena.

'Apart from the fact', writes Dr. Budge,[4] 'that Osiris is actually called "Asar Aah", i.e. "Osiris the Moon", there are so many passages which prove beyond all doubt that at one period at least Osiris was the Moon-god, that it is difficult to understand why Diodorus stated that Osiris was the Sun and Isis the Moon. The Egyptian texts suggest that in late times the Sun-god of Night may have been regarded as a form of Osiris, and in the last section of the Book Am-Tuat we see the mummied form in which he passed through the Tuat, or Other World; but Osiris the Moon-god and the Sun-god were two entirely distinct beings, and the Egyptians never confounded them, whatever the Greeks may have done.'

It may, however, be pointed out that the identification of Osiris with the Sun made by Macrobius as well as by Diodorus, may have

[1] Strabo, 685. 31.

[2] *Sympos.* vol. viii, p. 865.

[3] Budge, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 386–7.

[4] *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, vol. i, pp. 21–2.

originated from the fact that in the later period the cult of the Mnevis bull, one of the chief forms of Osiris, at Heliopolis was of great importance, and may have blended with that of the Sun-god himself, who gave his name to the place. Herodotus [1] in one passage at least, like Diodorus, identified Isis with the Moon. The Egyptian evidence seems to confirm the view that the tendency to make Osiris into a Moon-god and to fit the years of his reign or life and the parts of his body on to the lunar months, like his identification with the Sun, came only in the last stages of the evolution of his cult.

The Oldest Symbol of Osiris. As we have seen, the dismemberment of Osiris forms one of the most important features not only of the myth but of the cult. Isis is supposed to have erected a tomb or shrine at each place where she found and buried one of the fragments of her spouse. Naturally, such relics became sacred objects of adoration, e.g. one of the earliest things connected with his cult is the object known as the *tet* (Fig. 10). Some have thought it a tree-trunk, others a tree with branches, which seems very unlikely; others, again, a coffer or framework made of a tree-trunk, in which the relic of Osiris venerated at Busiris was kept. In *The Book of the Dead* this object is associated with the backbone and vertebrae of the god. Dr. Budge holds that it is a conventional representation of a portion of his spinal column. The oldest form of this part was probably represented by a part of the back with portions of the ribs attached to it. In the course of time this was fitted with a stand, and the familiar later form arose.[3] Dr. Budge thinks that it was really the *os sacrum* of Osiris which was confused with a portion of the backbone in early times.

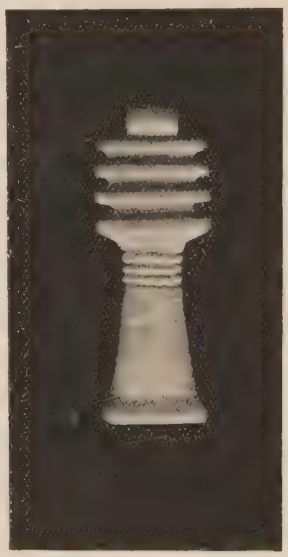

Fig. 10. The Tet symbol of Osiris (enlarged).[2]

The Oldest Shrines. The *tet* was chief pride of Tet, Tetu, or Tattu, the metropolis of the Ninth Nome of Lower Egypt, known to the Greeks as Busiris. It seems certain that Busiris was the oldest of all the shrines in the north, but it was never as important as Abydus, its great rival in the south. Herodotus,[4] however, in his description

[1] ii. 47.

[2] Made of syenite; in my own possession.

[3] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 199.

[4] ii. 59.

of the six chief shrines of Egypt and their festivals, states that the most important sanctuary of Isis was at Busiris. By Strabo's time[1] the place seems to have been of no importance and its people had a bad name.

The temple or place at Busiris in which the *tet* was worshipped, probably the temple of Isis, was in later times called Per-seker, i.e. 'the House of Silence'. 'At a very early period Osiris was assimilated to the *tet*, and the ceremony of "setting up" the *tet* became the equivalent of the reconstitution of the backbone and of the body of Osiris generally. The *tet* can hardly have been a tree with branches, but it may have been confused with a tree-trunk, or coffer, or framework made of a tree-trunk, in which the relic of Osiris was kept.'[2] It will be observed that amid all the conjectural origins of the *tet*, no one, not even the most prurient, has ever suggested that it was a phallus.

If Busiris had the *tet*, Abydus was reputed to possess the head and even the whole body of the martyred king. It was most certainly the oldest of all the shrines in the south, if not the most ancient in Egypt. 'As the symbol of the city and its name was the coffer or basket which contained the head of Osiris, with plumes above the coffer and the serpent passing through it,[3] the connexion of the cult of Osiris with the town must have been very ancient. It stood not far from the Nile on a canal leading from the great river, and at no great distance from Netat or Netit, near which Osiris was murdered by Set. It was more natural for Isis when she found her husband's dead body there to take it to Abydus than to any more remote town.'

Before the establishment of the cult of Osiris there, the people venerated Seker, the god of Death, the two Ap-uati gods, Anubis, An-her, Khenti-Amenti, and others. But by the end of the Sixth dynasty Osiris had become the chief god of the district, and all the local forms of the gods just enumerated had become subordinated to him. His fame spread widely, and those who could afford it desired to be buried near the shrine of the man who had died and risen again. 'Even in the Pyramid texts', says Dr. Budge,[4] 'we find it tacitly assumed that the kings for whom they were written had each become an Osiris, and the name of Osiris is actually prefixed to the names of some of them.' It looks as if these kings were considered reincarnations, thus resembling the *Imams* of the Shiah Moslems and certain reincarnations of Vishnu which we shall presently meet in India (p. 136). Those who could not afford to buy a tomb at Abydus for their dead had to content themselves with

[1] 681. 38 (Didot).
[2] Budge, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 52.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 1.
[4] Vol. i, p. 52.

bearing thither the mummy and with letting it tarry there a brief space in order that it might benefit from proximity to the shrine. Such mummies were then brought home again and laid to rest in their family graves. Abydus naturally throve on those who resorted thither, especially at the time of the great festival held at the close of the year.

Nothing is known of the history of Abydus and its Osiris cult from the end of the VIth to the beginning of the XIIth dynasty.[1] It was under the kings of this latter period that the cult and the sanctuary rose to great importance, especially the dramatic performances held there.

From an inscription we learn that a king, probably Usertsen I, made offerings to the god, and that Usertsen III was a still greater benefactor. The inscription of I-kher-nefert, an official of the latter, informs us that his royal master ordered him to go to Abydus, build a sanctuary for Osiris, and to adorn his shrine with some of the gold which the god had enabled him to bring from Nubia after his victorious campaign in that country.

I-kher-nefert accordingly built a shrine[2] with sweet-smelling woods, inlaid with gold, silver, and lapis lazuli, and made shrines also for the other gods. He drew up rules for the priests and for the celebrations throughout the year; he provided a new boat for Osiris, and added a suitable shrine, in which the figure or statue of the god was to be set; he also made a statue of the god adorned with lapis lazuli, silver-gold, turquoise, and precious stones of all kinds. He likewise provided apparel for the festival attire of the image, and, in addition to the ordinary priest, he appointed another with the title of Sa-mer-f, 'his (the god's) beloved son,' who ministered in the sacred house, and had charge of all ceremonies and the sacred property of the god and of the shrine. He dressed the statue for the festivals on the full moon and new moon in each month, and had an assistant, who had also to be a man of 'clean fingers'. To the very important contents of the second part of this inscription we shall soon return.

Under the New Empire it was boldly asserted that Abydus possessed the veritable body of Osiris, and the symbol of Osiris—Tet (Fig. 10)—is described as 'the holy Tet in Abydus'. Sometimes the Tet is surmounted by the horns, feathers, disk, &c., which belong to Osiris, or Osiris Khenti-Amenti, and sometimes by the head and bust of Osiris, or by his head with horns and plumes on the top of it. Rarely Khenti-Amenti is represented as an old man, whose head

[1] Budge, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 2, 3.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 4–5.

forms the base of the Tet, on which rest the feathers, horns, &c., which are the attributes of Osiris. A very unusual form of Osiris or Osiris Un-nefer is found on a relief at Abydus. On a high pylon-shaped pedestal is a kneeling human figure, on the neck of which stands a Tet, within the loop of the symbol of life, which takes the place of the head and neck. The figure is described as Osiris Un-nefer, dweller in the temple of Men-maat-Ra, and is entreated to give every kind of physical well-being to him (i.e. the king).[1]

Strabo tells us that the people of Abydus honoured Osiris, but that contrary to the practice in the case of the other gods, neither singer, flute-player, nor harper sang or played a prelude to the sacrifice.[2] He briefly describes the shrine under the title of the Memnonium, constructed of massive stones, ' a king's house marvellously wrought with single blocks of stone, as is the labyrinth, but not so complicated, and there is a well lying in a hollow, into which one has to descend through an arched passage roofed with single stones of surpassing size and workmanship.' [3]

This well is apparently that mentioned on the stele of Menthu-hetep of the XIth dynasty, who says that he built it by the order of Horus, i.e. the king. But Dr. Budge thinks that ' it is far more likely that he only cleared it out and lined it with stone '. The well was called Ha-hetepet, and was guarded by a god named Qa-ha-hetep, who allowed no one to approach it. The ground about it was called the ' region of offerings, the holy land, the mountain of Amentet '.[4]

The Egyptians apparently thought that by means of this well their offerings could be dispatched direct to the other world for the use of the god. The ' roarings or noises ' that were heard in the well may have been caused by the fall of the offerings into it. Close to it was the chamber which contained the relic of Osiris. This well has been supposed to lie a mile and a half away from the Memnonium, in the plain of Abydus, at a spot now known as Umm al-Ka'ab. ' mother of pots,' from the amount of pottery found there, now identified as Peqer, and as the burial-place of the kings of the First Egyptian dynasty (p. 116).

That Strabo was right in regarding the Memnonium as the shrine of Osiris can no longer be doubted. A remarkable discovery made this

[1] Budge, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 53 (with illustration on p. 51).

[2] 691. 47: *ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀβυδῳ τιμῶσι τὸν Ὄσιριν· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ὀσίριδος οὐκ ἔξεστιν οὔτε ᾠδὸν οὔτε αὐλητὴν οὔτε ψάλτην ἀπάρχεσθαι τῷ θεῷ καθάπερ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἔθος.*

[3] *Ibid.* 690. 40: *ὑπὲρ δὲ ταύτης ἡ Ἀβυδος, ἐν ᾗ τὸ Μεμνόνιον, βασίλειον θαυμαστῶς κατεσκευασμένον ὁλόλιθον κτλ.*

[4] Budge, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 12.

very year by Professor Naville has set the matter at rest. By the term Memnonium, Herodotus [1] means not a building dedicated to a god, but the king's palace at Susa. Strabo seems to regard it as the house of a dead rather than of a living king,[2] for he applies it not merely to the shrine of Osiris, but to the Egyptian labyrinth, and also speaks of other Memnonia at Thebes. 'The temple of Seti I', writes M. Naville,[3] 'bears the character of what is called a Memnonium.' Since it was dedicated to Osiris he inferred that the tomb of the god ought to be somewhere near. Acting on this supposition he discovered that between a door found two years ago and the temple of Seti I there was 'a complete sanctuary, evidently of the time of the Pyramids, very much ruined, but built with huge materials, . . . a building quite unique amongst the numerous temples and tombs of the Nile Valley'. There is first a hall, 30 m. by 20 m., divided into two aisles, and a nave. The two aisles had ceilings made of granite monoliths, which cannot be called slabs, since they are six feet thick. The nave was probably open. There must have been sixteen cells in the side walls. The nave leads to an end wall of red sandstone, not far from Seti's temple. Only on this wall were inscriptions found in the great hall, and these give the name of Menephtah. They are distinctly funerary, such as the representation of the two principal amulets put near the deceased. A small door in the wall led to another chamber of the same breadth as the large hall, but only five metres long. This chamber, built of large blocks, is perfectly preserved. On one side and on the ceiling are engraved or painted funerary scenes of the time of Seti I. It was empty, but the texts on the wall show that it is the burial-place of Osiris. These give the concluding portions of what may be called the 'Book of the Underworld'. But as M. Amélineau found no well at Umm al-Ka'ab, nor has Professor Naville as yet discovered one at the Memnonium, this problem still awaits solution.

The Passion Play of Osiris. We have already found some allusion to dramatic performances in honour of Osiris in the Greek authors, but from none of these can we get any detailed information. Fortunately the royal official I-kher-nefert, in the second part of the inscription on the stele cited above, has left us a brief, though invaluable, account of what seems to be undoubtedly the Osiris Mystery Play as annually performed at Abydus. He apparently had to organize the performance, and informs us of the parts which

[1] v. 53: *ἐς βασιλήια τὰ Μεμνόνια καλέομενα.* Cf. v. 54: *τοῦτο* (Susa) *γὰρ Μεμνόνιον ἄστυ καλέεται.*

[2] 690. 41 (cf. 693. 5), 693. 19.

[3] *Times*, March 6, 1914 (p. 4).

he himself acted. 'I performed the coming-forth of Ap-uat when he set out to defend his father; I drove back the enemy from the Neshmet Boat; I overthrew the foes of Osiris; I performed the "Great Coming-forth"; I followed the god in his footsteps; I made the boat of the god to move and Thoth . . . I provided the boat of the Lord of Abydus called Kha-em-Maat (i. e. "appearing in truth") with a cabin shrine, and I put on him his splendid apparel and ornaments, when he set out to go to the region (?) of Peqer; I directed the way of the god to his tomb in Peqer; I avenged Un-nefer on the day of the Great Battle; I overthrew all his enemies on the dyke (?) of Netit; I caused him (Osiris) to set out in the Boat, which bore his beauty. I made the hearts of the dwellers in the East to expand with joy, and caused gladness to be in the dwellers in Amentet (the West), when they saw the Beauty as it landed at Abydus, bringing Osiris Khenti-Amenti, the Lord of Abydus, to his palace.'[1]

Dr. Budge[2] thus explains it. It appears from the inscription that already in the XIIth dynasty Ap-uat was regarded as the son of Osiris, and that he acted as the leader of the expedition of Osiris, which was represented by a procession formed by the priests and the people. Ap-uat walked in front, next came the boat containing the figure of the god and a company of priests or followers of the god, and the rear was brought up by a crowd of people. The boat of the god was then attacked by a crowd of men who represented the foes of Osiris, and as the god was defenceless, Ap-uat engaged them in combat, beat them off, and the procession then continued on its way in the temple.

Then followed the great Act of the Osiris Play—the 'Coming-forth of Osiris from the temple after his death and the departure of his body to the tomb'. A solemn service was performed in the temple before the body was carried from it, and offerings having been eaten sacramentally, the procession set out for the tomb. When it reached the door of the temple it was received by a vast crowd of men and women, who raised the death-wail, and uttered piercing shrieks and lamentations, the women beating their breasts.

On the analogy of the description given by Herodotus[3] of the sham-fight which formed part of the festival held at Papreme in honour of the god whom he terms Ares, and in which many men were injured, often fatally, Dr. Budge supposes that at Abydus there was a like sham-fight when the body of Osiris passed out from the

[1] Budge, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 5–11. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 5–12.
[3] ii. 68.

temple, and this well explains the statement of I-kher-nefert that he ' overthrew all his (Osiris') enemies on the dyke (?) of Netit ' (p. 112). He thinks that this fight commemorated the great battle at Netit, not far from Abydus, where Osiris was slain.

Apparently the body of Osiris could not be found, as I-kher-nefert played the part of the leader of the search-party, and their wanderings probably occupied three days, during which the sham-fights between the followers of Osiris and those of Set were repeated at intervals, and great lamentations were made. All these events were represented by the words ' the Great Coming-forth ', which had for every Egyptian a solemn significance. At last the body was found, but by whom we are not told. From another text, however, we learn that it was discovered by Isis and her sister Nephthys.

I-kher-nefert seems to have acted the part of ferryman for Thoth and to have gone in a boat containing a figure of that god to fetch the body of Osiris from Netit for burial. From other texts we hear of the mummification of the body after it was brought from Netit, and of the elaborate ceremonies performed in connexion with it by Horus and his four sons. We further learn that two feathers of the Maati (apparently goddesses of truth) were fastened on the coffin or coffer of Osiris, that his head was tired with a bandlet, and that a model of his enemy Set was placed at his feet. Then the body was carried to Peqer, which is now known to be a place in the plain of Abydus, about one and a half miles from the Memnonium.[1] Here were found the tombs of the kings of the First dynasty, among which is that of King Khent, identified by the Egyptians as the tomb of Osiris. Moreover, the famous cenotaph of Osiris, made probably under Dynasty XXII, was found at this spot by M. Amélineau. The identification mentioned above dates at least from the XVIIIth dynasty, and may be much older, as Budge thinks. The men of Dynasty XVIII showed their belief in the doctrine by building the cenotaph at Peqer.

I-kher-nefert proceeds to relate how he personated the avenging of the enemies of Osiris on the day of the Great Battle, which of course is the great decisive struggle in which Horus defeated Set and his confederates, thereby avenging his father. I-kher-nefert evidently played the part of Horus and led the victorious army in the sham-fight. The foes of the god were routed with great slaughter, for it is clear from *The Book of the Dead* (chap. xviii) that large numbers of Set's followers were slain or captured. The prisoners were probably beheaded at the tomb of Osiris, and it is not unlikely that their blood

[1] Budge, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 8.

was poured out on his sanctuary. Whether in the dramatic performance I-kher-nefert actually offered human victims is not clear, but it is not improbable that he did so. Human victims were certainly sacrificed at Busiris, for we read how 'the Tchatcha (chiefs) on the festival of the breaking and turning up of the earth at Tattu (Busiris) slay the fiends of Set in the presence of the gods who are therein (Isis and Osiris), and their blood runneth about among them as they are smitten'. It thus seems highly probable that prisoners of war and criminals were slain at the annual festival to propitiate and invigorate the spirit of Osiris, just as similar unfortunates were sacrificed in Dahomey and in Benin at the annual 'customs' to appease the spirits of the king's ancestors.

Then followed the most glorious act in the Osiris Passion Play. Once more the god appears in the Neshmet Boat, and returns to his palace alive again. By virtue of his own divine power, of the ceremonies of Thoth, Horus, and the latter's four sons, by virtue of his having eaten the eye that Horus had cut out of his own face and given to him, by the vengeance wreaked on Set and his friends, and by the libations of their blood poured on his tomb, Osiris has become once more a living being. The crowd of pilgrims from East and West rejoiced with a great joy to see their god-king once more alive in their midst.

How long the performance lasted is not certain, but it seems not unlikely from I-kher-nefert's description that it extended through several weeks.[1] On the occasion of a visit from Nefer-hetep, a king of the XIIIth dynasty, the priests met him with a statue of the god, and they performed the miracle plays on the way to the temple.

The play was also acted at Busiris with elaborate ceremonies, and, as we have seen above, with the accompaniment of human sacrifices. Similar mysteries were performed at Heliopolis (Anu), Letopolis (Sekhem), Buto (Petep), Taui-rekhti, An-rut-f, and Re-stau.

Let us sum up the facts that emerge from our inquiry. (1) The evidence points to the conclusion that Osiris and Isis were as real personages as Ali, Fatima, Hussein, and Hassan; (2) that he was a chieftain of some part of Egypt; (3) that as in the chieftain family of the Koreish tribe there was a dynastic quarrel, so, too, was it in this ancient Egyptian royal house, and that as Hussein perished by the machinations of Yezed the Polluted, so Osiris was slain by the craft of Set; (4) that his widow and son eventually took vengeance on his murderer and secured the throne of Egypt; (5) that the virtues and sufferings of Osiris and Isis sank so deeply into the hearts

[1] Budge, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 12.

of the people that, like many another chieftain or chieftainess, they were made into heroes or gods; (6) that his cult spread, and that not only were shrines set up to him in many places, but his worship absorbed that of various old local hero gods, whose attributes he took over, while the same holds good of his consort Isis, just as Zeus at Olympia and Apollo at Delphi were respectively endowed with the wild olive and the bay-tree of the older cults; (7) that amongst these cults Osiris took over not only that of the god of Heliopolis, but also that of the old God-king Men, with whom the phallus was a special symbol; (8) that from this chiefly the Greeks identified Osiris with Dionysus as well as from the story of his having discovered the virtues of wine; (9) that it is upon this accretion of late myths that Sir James Frazer and his followers have based their theory that Osiris was a Corn or Vegetation Spirit; (10) that as time went on Isis similarly absorbed into herself older cults such as that of Hathor the Cow-goddess, and that as Osiris took over the attributes of Hep, or Hetep, the god of the Nile, so Isis became the Earth-Mother, and was thus identified by the Greeks with Demeter, whilst others again identified her with the Moon, just as her consort had been blended into the Sun-god of Heliopolis; (11) that it was the essential humanity of both Osiris and Isis that exercised so great an influence on the Egyptian mind, just as it was and is the like element in Demeter and Hussein which had and has so powerful an attraction for the ancient Greeks and the modern Persians; (12) that just as to-day the Passion Play of Hussein moves the hearts of the Egyptian Shiahs by portraying the sorrow of Ali, Fatima, Hassan, and Hussein, so the Miracle Play of Abydus, forty centuries ago, was in no sense meant to honour a mere abstraction or to reinvigorate the year, but to keep in continual remembrance the sufferings and, as they believed, the resurrection of Osiris, the Egyptian Prince of Martyrs.

In view of evidence such as that here summarized, it is not surprising that Sir James Frazer in the new edition (3rd) of his work should have virtually abandoned his theory so far as Osiris is concerned. For although in the opening pages[1] of that work he retains his old doctrine, yet in the preface[2] he admits that the African analogies which Dr. Budge cites and to which he himself has added other examples, point to the conclusion 'that under the mythical pall of the glorified Osiris, the god who died and rose again from the dead, there once lay the body of a dead man', and he thereby admits in this case my view that dramatic representations arose in the worship and propitiation of the dead. Moreover,

[1] *Adonis, Attis, Osiris* (3rd ed., 1914), vol. i, p. 4. [2] p. ix.

elsewhere[1] he asks the pertinent question, fatal to his own theory, 'If Christ lived the life and died the death of a man on earth, may not Osiris have done so likewise? The immense and enduring popularity of his worship speaks in favour of the supposition; for all the other great religious or semi-religious systems which have won for themselves a permanent place in the affections of mankind have been founded by individual great men, who by their personal life and example exerted a power of attraction, such as no cold abstractions, no pale products of the collective wisdom or folly could ever exert on the minds and hearts of humanity. . . . Certainly we shall do less violence to the evidence if we accept the unanimous tradition of ancient Egypt on this point than if we resolve the figure of Osiris into a myth pure and simple.'

But Sir J. Frazer apparently thinks that he can save a remnant of his theory by jettisoning Osiris[2] and by asserting that 'a broad distinction seems to sever the myth and worship of Osiris from the kindred myths and worships of Adonis and Attis. For while Adonis and Attis were minor divinities in the religion of Western Asia completely overshadowed by the greater deities of their respective Pantheons, the solemn figure of Osiris towered in solitary grandeur over all the welter of Egyptian gods like a pyramid of his native land lit up by the last rays of the setting sun when all below it is in shadow. And whereas legend generally represented Adonis and Attis as simple swains, mere herdsmen or hunters whom the fatal love of a goddess had elevated above their homely sphere into a brief and melancholy pre-eminence, Osiris uniformly appears in tradition as a great and beneficent king'. But this attempt breaks down at once; for not only does Sir J. Frazer hold that the essence of the Osiris cult was the death and resurrection of the god, but he also directs all his learning to show that such too was the case with the Adonis cult, whilst in his treatment of Attis his object is the same. The difference, then, between Osiris and the two minor deities is only one of degree and not of kind, and we shall find in India beside a great god once a human king, such as Krishna, many minor deities often of quite recent date, who in life were just as humble as Adonis and Attis, whilst in Burma beside the cult of deified kings we shall meet that of a trader in tea. Again, Sir J. Frazer seems to assume that because in legend Adonis and Attis are simple swains 'elevated by the fatal love of a goddess into a brief and melancholy pre-eminence', they are to remain as vegetation spirits. But because Antinous, a low-born Bithynian, was 'elevated by the fatal love' of

[1] Vol. ii, pp. 159–60. [2] Vol. ii, pp. 158–9.

a Roman emperor, himself counted as a god, into a 'brief and melancholy pre-eminence', is he to be regarded merely as a cold vegetation abstraction? With Sir James Frazer's failure of faith in his leading doctrine, what becomes of the flimsy edifices reared by his followers upon his former theories?

IV. HINDUSTAN

When we turn to Hindustan we meet with a series of psychological phenomena very similar to those which lie at the bottom of the religious beliefs of Western Asia and Egypt, of which we have just been treating. But the literary aspect of Hindustan and its Aryan conquerors differs *longo intervallo* from that of Egypt, Asia Minor, and Persia, especially in all that appertains to the drama.

In the *Rig-Veda*, the earliest hymns, some of which are more than three thousand years old, and according to some of the best modern authorities, even date as far back as three thousand years before our era, we have a mass of lyrical poetry far older than the literary monuments of any other branch of the Indo-European family. This is already marked by a simple beauty and refinement as well as by a skilful handling of language and metre, which clearly prove that we are here face to face not with the first rude stammerings of a savage people, but rather with the outcome of a long period during which generations of singers had gradually evolved a distinct literary diction and sense of form. This early literature is essentially religious, as it consists of invocations and prayers to the great gods to bless the suppliant with gifts of cows, horses, chariots, gold, and soma-drinks.

The Vedic Literature as a whole falls roughly into three periods. The first, that of the *Four Vedas*, is the outcome of a creative age, in which hymns and prayers were composed chiefly to accompany the pressing and offering of the soma, or the oblation of melted butter to Indra, Surya, Agni, and other gods.

But these *Vedas* themselves in turn differ widely from one another in date and in contents. By far the most important is the *Rig-Veda* or 'Verse-Veda', the foundation of all the rest. It consists almost wholly of prayers to or praises of the gods, such as Indra, Surya (the Sun), Agni (Fire), the Asvins, Ushas (the Dawn), the Maruts (Winds), and the like. But there are other poems, which are not devoted to praise, prayer, or incantations, but set forth purely heroic exploits. Thus there are three [1] which celebrate the glories

[1] *Rig-Veda*, vii, 18, 33, 83.

of the Sudas under the leadership of their great chief Vasishtha, and these are rightly described [1] as 'the family expression of joy over the victories of the great king, one of the few whose names are more than words to us in Vedic history'. Again, there are others in which figures Visvamitra,[2] a personality just as historical as Vasishtha.

Next in age comes the *Soma-Veda*, which has practically no independent value, as it consists almost wholly of stanzas from the *Rig-Veda*, arranged solely with reference to their place in the Soma sacrifice. The *Yajur-Veda* consists not only of stanzas mostly borrowed from the *Rig-Veda*, but also contains original prose formulas, while, like the *Soma-Veda*, its contents are ordered with a view to sacrificial ritual. These three *Vedas* were alone reckoned as canonical in early times, and were subsequently for this reason known as 'The Threefold Knowledge' (trayi-vidyat). The fourth collection, known as the *Atharva-Veda*, belongs to a far later period, as Manu the lawgiver knows only the three just described, whilst the Brahmans themselves admit its more recent origin. One-sixth of it is prose, and about one-sixth of its hymns are also found in the *Rig-Veda*, especially in its Tenth Book, from whence Professor Whitney held that its contents may be later than this Tenth Book itself, 'although these two now stand nearly connected in import and origin.'

There are reasons for believing that the *Atharva-Veda* grew up amongst the Saindhavas, i.e. the people of Sindhia, the region between the Indus and the Jhelum. Professor Whitney, the editor of the *Atharva-Veda*, thus describes it: 'As to the internal character of the *Atharva* hymns, it may be said of them, as of the Tenth Book of the *Rig-Veda*, that they are productions of another and a later period, and the expressions of a different spirit from that of the earlier hymns in the other Vedas. In the latter the gods are approached with reverential awe indeed, but with love and confidence also: a worship is paid them that exalts the offerer of it. The demons embraced under the general name of Rakshasa are objects of horror, whom the gods ward off and destroy: the divinities of the *Atharva* are regarded with a kind of cringing fear as ogres whose wrath is to be deprecated and whose favour curried, for it knows a whole host of imps and hobgoblins, in ranks and classes, and addresses itself to them, directly offering them homage to induce them to abstain from doing harm. The *mantra* prayer, which in the older Veda is the instrument of devotion, is here rather the tool of super-

[1] A. B. Keith, 'The Vedic Akhyana and the Indian Drama' (*Journ. Roy. As. Society*, 1911, p. 1006).

[2] *Rig-Veda*, iii. 33, &c.

stition. It wrings from the unwilling hands of the gods the favours which of old their goodwill to men induced them to grant, or by a simple magical power obtains the fulfilment of the utterer's wishes. The most prominent feature of the *Atharva-Veda* is the multitude of incantations which it contains. These are pronounced either by the person who is himself to be benefited, or more often by a sorcerer for him, and are directed to the procuring of the greatest variety of desirable ends.' Again, Professor Macdonell writes,[1] 'in spirit it is not only entirely different from the *Rig-Veda*, but represents a much more primitive stage of thought. While the *Rig-Veda* deals almost exclusively with the higher gods, as conceived by a comparatively advanced and refined sacerdotal class, the *Atharva-Veda* is in the main a book of spells and incantations appealing to the demon world, and teems with notions about witchcraft current among the lower grades of the population and derived from immemorial antiquity.'

It will be observed that both the distinguished scholars whose words have been cited, like all other writers on these questions, regard the lower phase of religion seen in the *Atharva-Veda* as belonging to one and the same race as the authors of the hymns of the *Rig-Veda*, Professor Macdonell regarding the latter as the expression of a refined sacerdotal class, the *Atharva* as that of the lower classes. Moreover, he begs the question by assuming with Sir James Frazer that magic is a stage prior to religion.

But this assumption is hardly borne out by the facts. When the Aryans entered India, their religion was very similar to that of their close kinsmen, the ancient Persians. The former worshipped, as their chief divinities, Indra (whom the Greeks identified with Zeus), the Sun (*Surya*), Fire (*Agni*), the Winds (*Maruts*), and other similar elemental powers. The Persians, according to Herodotus,[2] made no images (ἀγάλματα), altars, or temples, and regarded as fools those who did so, because, says he, they do not believe that the gods have human forms, as do the Greeks. But it is their custom to ascend to the summits of mountains and there to sacrifice to Zeus, as they term the whole compass of the heavens. They sacrifice also to the Sun, the Moon, the Earth, Fire, Water, and the Winds. To these alone have they sacrificed from of old, but later they have learned to make offerings to Aphrodite Urania from the Assyrians and the Arabs, the former of whom call her Mylitta, the latter Alilat, whilst the Persians themselves term her Mitra. He thus describes the Persian method of sacrificing to any of the gods enumerated. They neither build an altar nor kindle a fire when about to sacrifice,

[1] *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 31. [2] i. 131–2.

neither do they employ libations, the flute, chaplets, nor barley meal. Any one who wants to sacrifice, leads the animal to a clean spot, with his own tiara wreathed usually with myrtle, and calls upon the god. He must not pray for blessings for himself only, but he prays for the welfare of all the Persians and for the king, for he (the sacrificer) himself is included amongst all the Persians. When he has cut up the victim and boiled the flesh, he strews on the ground very soft grass, by preference trefoil, and then places on it all the meat. When he has arranged it a Magian standing by recites over it the genealogy of the god. The position held by the Magian reminds us of that of the priest (*hotar*, 'summoner') in a Vedic sacrifice. But the important feature for us to observe is that the worship of these great elemental deities was not confined to 'a refined sacerdotal class, but was the religion of all the Persians', and, accordingly, in the case of the Persians it cannot be alleged that magic came before religion. Furthermore, it is clear from Herodotus that the Persians were led from contact with their subjects the Assyrians to embrace the uncleanly cult of Aphrodite Urania, who was identical with Ashtaroth, 'the abomination of the Sidonians.' But not only did they learn gross religious cults from their subjects, but, as Herodotus[1] frankly tells us, they learned from the Greeks for the first time unnatural vices. Unless, therefore, a very strong body of positive evidence to the contrary can be produced from India, there is a very strong *prima facie* case for believing that the religion of the *Rig-Veda* was not merely that of 'a refined sacerdotal class', but of all classes of the Aryan invaders; and on the other hand that the gross phases and forms of religion presented to us by the *Atharva-Veda* must be regarded as indigenous cults taken over by the conquerors from their aboriginal dark-complexioned subjects, just as the Persians adopted the worship of the great Asiatic goddess from the Assyrians and the Arabs. The present writer has elsewhere[2] argued that the Magi who resisted so strongly the Achaemenian kings of Persia, were the native priests. For it is certain that the Magi were always Medes, and not Persians, whilst it is no less clear that Zoroastrianism, the religion of the Magi, was not the religion of their Persian conquerors, but simply a development of the primitive beliefs and practices of the aboriginal tribes, whose custom it was to give their dead to the beasts and birds, and whose priests the Magi were.

It is not unlikely that the Brahmans who were the dominant spiritual power in Northern India at the time of Alexander's invasion,

[1] i. 135. [2] *Early Age of Greece*, vol. i, p. 543.

and we know not for how long before, and who to this hour play so astonishing a part in the social and religious life of India, were not solely the priests of the Aryan conquerors, but included also the shamans of the aborigines. It has been pointed out that the very black Brahmans of Southern India are not merely the result of constant intermarriage of Brahmans with the aboriginal Dravidians, but that in many cases they may be the descendants of native Dravidian priestly families admitted into the ranks of the Brahmans. But as the Kshatriyas are the warrior caste, there seems no doubt that they represent the fierce Aryans who conquered Northern India. That there was a great struggle between the Aryan Kshatriyas and a priestly caste, not necessarily Aryan, although it may have had a large Aryan admixture, is shown by the manifold accounts of the contest between Visvamitra, the Kshatriya sage, and Vasishtha, the Brahman Rishi, a strife very frequently alluded to in the *Rig-Veda* itself. Just as the Achaemenid kings of Persia had an endless struggle against the Magi, so the warrior Kshatriya chieftains had plainly an endless contest with the Brahmans in which they ultimately succumbed, and as the Magi continued to hold their influence long after the Achaemenid dynasty had passed away, so the Brahmans still dominate Hindustan.

The Persians found in the lands which they had subjugated peoples in what may be termed the Lower Animism. In a like condition were all the races of Hindustan conquered by its Aryan invaders, and in such a condition they practically remain to this hour. Their religion, like that of all people in the same phase, consists practically in the reverence for and fear of spirits. The good and friendly spirits are those of ancestors, whilst the evil spirits are usually those of enemies or of those who have met violent and cruel deaths, or have died in a state of impurity. Transmigration of souls forms a regular concomitant of the beliefs of all these peoples, many of whom once gave or still give their dead to the beasts. Thus, although Brahmanism and its outcomes, Buddhism and Jainism, have been predominant in India for more than two thousand years, they play but a small part in the daily life of the masses, whose life centres in the cults of disembodied spirits, whether we call them heroes or heroines, gods or goddesses. The worship of the dead in many phases lies at the bottom of the practical religion of all classes of Hindus, whether they be Aryan or the non-Aryan tribes of the jungle, a ' universal necrolatry ', as it was happily termed by the late Sir Alfred Lyall.[1]

[1] *Asiatic Researches*, 1st ser., pp. 24 *sqq.*

We have seen (p. 108) that a chief feature in the development of the cult of the old king Osiris was the merging into him of all the other gods of the dead. India furnishes excellent parallels for this phenomenon.

'It would seem', writes Lyall,[1] 'that the honours which are at first paid to all departed spirits come gradually to be concentrated as divine honours upon the Manes of notables. Probably the reason is that they must continue influential in the spirit world. For, so far as I have been able to trace back the origin of the best-known minor provincial deities, they are usually men of past generations who have earned special promotion and brevet rank among disembodied ghosts by some peculiar acts or accident of their lives or deaths, especially among the rude and rough classes. With communities of a higher mental level, different motives for their selection prevail. Popular deifications appear to have been founded in their simplest form on mere wonder and pity, as for mental and bodily afflictions, an affecting incident, such as the death of a boy bridegroom (now the god Dulha Deo) in the midst of his own marriage procession (p. 184); or on horror at terrible and lamentable deaths, as by suicide, by wild beasts, by murder, or by some hideous calamity. The Bunjaras, a tribe much addicted to highway robbery, worship a famous bandit, who probably lived and died in some notorious way. Any renowned soldier would certainly be worshipped after death, if his tomb were well known and accessible. M. Raymond, the French commander, who died at Hyderabad, has been there canonized after a fashion; General Nicholson, who died in the storming of Delhi (1857), was adored as a hero in his lifetime in spite of his violent persecution of his own devotees, and there are other known instances of the commemoration of Europeans who have been feared or loved.' Lyall points out that these cults, which often find expression in shrines, and even grow into temples well endowed, are at first simply the outcome of the popular mind, but that the Brahmans later on take care to give the origin of any such cult an orthodox interpretation. 'The saint or hero is admitted into the upper circles of divinity, much as a successful soldier or millionaire is recognized by fashionable society. Of the numerous local gods known to have been living men, by far the greater portion derive from the ordinary canonization of holy personages.'

'This system of canonizing has grown out of the world-wide sentiment that rigid asceticism and piety, combined with implicit faith, gradually develops a miraculous faculty. The saint or hermit may

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 27–8.

have deeper motives, the triumph of the spirit over corrupt matter, of virtue over vanity and lusts, or the self-purification required of mediaeval magicians and mystical alchemists before they could deal with the great secrets of Nature ; but the popular belief is that his relentless austerity extorts thaumaturgic power from reluctant gods. And of him who works miracles do they say in India, as in Samaria they said of Simon Magus, "this man is the great power of God"; wherefore after death (if not in life) he is honoured as divine indeed. . . . When such an one dies, his body is not burned, but buried ; a disciple or relative of the saint establishes himself over the tomb as steward of the mysteries and receiver of the temporalities ; vows are paid, sacrifice is made, a saint's day is added to the local calendar, and the future success of the shrine depends upon some lucky hit in the way of prophecy or fulfilment of prayers. . . . The number of such shrines is great and is constantly increasing, whilst some of them have already attained the rank of temples, and are richly endowed and collect great crowds at the yearly pilgrim gatherings,' like those at the great Muhammadan shrines, such as Meshed and Tanta of which we have already spoken.

How the cult of a human being, which at first is confined to the actual spot where his or her body lies, can be generalized and ultimately spread over a vast area like that of the worship of Dionysus in Thrace and Greece, of Osiris in Egypt and of Hussein in Western Asia, can be well illustrated from Indian religion. ' Human sacrifice ', writes Sir Alfred Lyall,[1] ' has always been common in India as a last resort for appeasing divine wrath, when manifested in a strange and inexplicable way ; and it is suspected to be still the real motive of occasional mysterious murders. Ghând Khan is a demon rather than a deity, but his tomb is worshipped on one bastion of every mud-fort in the Dekhan. The legend (without doubt founded on fact) is, that a man thus named was buried alive under some bastion of which the building had been supernaturally thwarted until this sacrifice was made, when all hindrance and mysterious opposition ceased at once.'

What is here said of Animism in India and the rise of cults holds equally true for Burma, Siam, China, and practically for all Asia.

Let us now return to the Vedic literature and its two clearly defined systems of religion. The sharp contrast between its older and later portions is well paralleled in the contrast not less sharp between the Homeric poems and Hesiod's *Theogony* and *Works and Days*. Again, the great difference in the religious and social ideas of the Homeric poems and those of classical Greece, even those of Athens

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

herself, have been a sore stumbling-block to scholars, who have searched in vain for an explanation of the fact that the conceptions of the gods as set forth in Homer are as noble as, or more noble, than those held in the golden days of Greece and later. India supplies a like contrast between the lofty and noble conceptions of the gods in the *Rig-Veda* and the gross and hideous forms of mediaeval and modern Hinduism. In the case of Greece the present writer has offered an explanation for apparently contradictory phenomena by pointing out that in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* there are reflected the social and religious ideas of the Acheans who descended from Central Europe and entered the Aegean basin by at least 1400 B.C., and by 1200 B.C. had made themselves the masters or overlords of the mainland of Greece and the islands. On the other hand, in the gross conceptions of the gods revealed in Hesiod's *Theogony* and in the manifold cults of classical and post-classical Greece are mirrored the social and religious conceptions and practices of the aboriginal race. The conquerors were never more than a handful, like the Franks in later times, and, like the Aryans in India, were soon absorbed into their subjects, a process almost certainly helped by marriage with the native women, and their descendants soon sank to the lower moral and religious plane of the aboriginal population, though at the same time imbuing it with some nobler elements.

Just as Greek scholars had ignored the ethnology of Greece, so have their Sanskrit brethren left on one side that of Hindustan. History clearly proves a similar series of phenomena for India. Age after age martial tribes with a morale as robust as their physique have swept down like tornadoes on the plains of Hindustan and made the aboriginal Tibeto-Burman and Dravidian tribes into hewers of wood and drawers of water. But the physical and moral fibre of the invaders soon suffered decay under the fatal influence of climate and admixture, and the dark aboriginal races have remained the only permanent element in the population of the peninsula. So, too, it is the religious and social ideas of these primitive races which, though at times suppressed, invariably reassert themselves and drag down the conqueror to their own lower level.

How far these views may explain the gradual degradation of the great deities of the *Rig-Veda* in the subsequent historical and literary periods, the reader must judge for himself as we proceed.

The Epic. To the Vedic literature succeeded the Epic, which, like the former, is essentially religious, whilst the succeeding Sanskrit literature ' is abundantly profane ', though a moralizing spirit pervades it as a whole. The religion which permeates the Epics is,

however, very different from that of the *Rig-Veda*. In the latter, Indra, Varuna, Surya, Agni, Ushas (Dawn), and the Maruts are, as we saw, the objects of prayer and sacrifice, but in the new period the three great divinities are Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva. It must be carefully noted, however, that Brahma, the first of this Triad, does not appear in the *Veda*, nor even in the *Brahmanas*. Moreover, he is represented in monstrous form; his colour is red, he has four heads, four arms, in his hand is a sceptre, or a spoon, or a string of beads, or his bow, or a water-jug, and the *Veda*. His consort is Saraswati, a goddess of learning also called Brahmi. He is called *Hansavahana*, goose-rider. Vishnu is mentioned in the *Rig-Veda*, but he is not in the first rank of gods. Even this Vishnu has very little in common with the Vishnu of later times. He is occasionally associated with Indra. In the *Brahmanas* Vishnu acquires new attributes, and is invested with legends unknown to the *Vedas*, but still far removed from those of the *Puranas*. Manu mentions him, yet not as a great deity. But when we come to the Epics and the *Puranas* he is now the second member of the Triad. In these works he is regarded as the Creator and Supreme God. He is pictorially represented in human form slumbering upon the serpent Sesha, and floating on the waters. Siva is utterly unknown to the *Vedas*, although another name of his, Rudra, is found. The Rudra is fierce as well as beneficent. In the Epic he is a great god, but regarded rather as a personal deity than as a Supreme Divinity. He is the great destroying and dissolving power. But dissolution implies reproduction, and Siva is regarded as the reproductive power, which is perpetually restoring that which has been dissolved. He is portrayed as a fair man with five faces and four arms, but is often represented as seated in profound thought with a third eye in the middle of his forehead, contained in or surmounted by the lunar crescent. His matted locks are gathered up into a coil like a horn, which bears upon it a symbol of the river Ganges, which he caught as it fell from heaven. A necklace of skulls and a serpent collar hang round his neck, which is itself blue. In his hand he holds a trident. His garment is the skin of a tiger, a deer, or an elephant. He usually has his bow.

There can be little doubt that, as is held by the best authorities, Siva was originally a real man who gradually rose to the great place which he holds now in the divine hierarchy by the process so well described by Lyall.

With the domination of this triad, two of which are monsters in form, the great gods of the *Rig-Veda* have sunk into a subordinate

position, though Indra is still comparatively prominent as the king of a Sanskrit Valhalla.

Again, whilst in the Vedic literature transmigration of souls does not figure, and there is a wide gulf fixed between men and gods, in the Sanskrit literature, on the other hand, transmigration is very prominent, and accordingly beings pass by gradations from Brahma through men and animals to the lowest forms of existence, and to this doctrine is probably due the fantastic elements which stamp this later poetry. Vishnu comes down to earth in the guise of various animals, sages and saints wander freely between heaven and earth, human beings visit Indra in his heaven. But, as we have pointed out, the doctrine of the transmigration of souls is a regular concomitant of the lower animism wherever it is found, from ancient Egypt and modern Africa, through the numberless tribes of Asia, to the Pacific Islands, and North and South America.

The difference between the *Rig-Veda* and the later period can be readily explained by the different attitude towards the soul after death taken up by the Vedic Aryans and the aborigines of Hindustan. Like the Homeric Acheans and worshippers of Odin, the Aryans of the *Rig-Veda* burned their dead, a practice which seems to have sprung up in South-central Europe.[1] Once the body was burned, the soul went away to the abode of disembodied spirits, nevermore to return. On the other hand, the Semites, ancient Egyptians, and practically all the races of Asia regard the burning of the body as the worst of calamities. They believe, as we have seen above (pp. 74–5), that the soul keeps close to its mortal remains in the grave, or else if eaten by beasts or birds, that the spirit as well as the body passes into the animal which has become its tomb. Whilst those who burned their dead thought that the action of the fire was purificatory and purged the spirit from its carnal contamination, on the other hand those who bury their dead or give them to beasts view with horror the burning of the body, because it involves the destruction or misery of the soul. Whilst the Vedic Aryans burned their dead, the aborigines of the Peninsula, as in great part they still do, buried their dead, gave them to the beasts, or threw them into some stream in the hopes that they might reach the Ganges.

This fundamental difference in the beliefs respecting the soul between the conquerors and their subjects seems to explain the great difference in the religious conceptions of the Vedic and the Epic periods, and, as we shall soon see, may probably explain why there is no real evidence for any true drama in the *Rig-Veda*. If the souls

[1] W. Ridgeway, *The Early Age of Greece*, vol. i, pp. 523–4.

of the dead were not with their bodies in the grave, but had departed to Yama nevermore to return, there was no need to propitiate them with representations of their exploits or sorrows.

Foremost in importance in the later literature comes the Epic, which is generally assigned to the period 500–50 B.C. The epic poetry falls into two main classes, the first of which comprises legend (*itihasa*), narrative (*akhyana*), and ancient tale (*purana*), whilst the second is termed artificial epic (*Kavya*). The *Mahabharata* is the oldest example of the former, the *Ramayana* of the latter. The *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* occupy in Hindu literature a position somewhat analogous to that held by the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in ancient Greece, whilst in some degree the *Puranas* may be compared with the *Theogony* of Hesiod. Thus, just as the exploits and the sufferings of the Achean families of Mycenae, Ithaca, and Phthiotis, and those of Priam of Troy and his family form the themes of the Greek epics, so the deeds and chequered fortunes of the great Aryan house of Ayodhya supply the subject of the *Ramayana*, whilst the *Mahabharata* deals with the good and the evil hap of Pandu the Pale and his five famous sons who dwelt at Indroprastha, and of their cousin Krishna, in their struggles with the Koravas of Hastinapura,[1] the Troy of the Indian Epic. Again, as the *Tale of Troy* and the fortunes of the heroes who destroyed that town provided the chief themes for the Greek tragedians, Aeschylus himself declaring that his plays were but ' joints from the banquets of Homer ', so the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* not only furnished the chief plots for the Sanskrit classical drama, but even to this hour supply the most popular themes for the dramatic performances of modern India, thus demonstrating that the close connexion between the Greek epic and the Greek drama so strongly emphasized by Aristotle is no less true of the epic and the drama of Hindustan.

For the illustrations (Figs. 11–18) of the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* stories from actual scenes in modern Rama and Krishna plays, as well as for many others (Figs. 21, 24–38), I am indebted to the unwearying kindness and trouble of my friend, the eminent Indian scholar and archaeologist, Rai Bahadur Pandit Radha Krishna, Director of the Muttra Museum.

The **Ramayana** is in the main the work of a single poet, Valmiki, and is homogeneous in plan and execution. There is good reason for believing that it was composed in Kosala, the country ruled by the

[1] Indroprastha lay on the Jumna not far from the modern Delhi, whilst some fifty-seven miles north-east of the latter city lie the ruins of Hastinapura (Elephant City) on an ancient bed of the Ganges.

race of Ikshvaku in Ayodhya, the modern Oude, since we are told in Book VII, canto 43, that the hermitage of its author, Valmiki, lay on the south bank of the Ganges. But it may well have taken its final shape at Mathura, the modern Muttra, one of the seven sacred cities of India, lying on the right bank of the Jumna (the ancient Yamuna), some fifty miles south of the Ganges. As we shall soon see, Muttra to this hour is a great seat of the worship of Rama, and has played the foremost part in the development of the Indian drama. From a beautiful episode in the poem it is not unlikely that Valmiki himself was the inventor of the famous *sloka* metre, whilst another passage predicts his immortal fame :

> As long as mountain ranges stand
> And rivers flow upon the earth :
> So long will this Ramayana
> Survive upon the lips of men.

This prophecy has been well fulfilled, since no poem has been more popular in India down to the present day. Its story, like the tale of Troy, has provided the theme for many another poem as well as for Sanskrit dramas. Again, just as the recitation by rhapsodes of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* delighted countless generations of Greeks, so that of the *Ramayana* enthrals the hearts of unnumbered myriads of the Indian peoples, as, for instance, at the great annual Rama festival at Muttra. But be it remarked that it is the story of the sufferings of the human Rama, and not those of Vishnu, which have such a magnetic attraction for the masses of India.

The *Ramayana* is distinctly older than the *Mahabharata*, since there are allusions to it in the latter, though itself unknown to the former. Thus the author of the *Mahabharata*, Book VI, cites two lines from the *Ramayana*, attributing them to Valmiki, whilst the author of Book VIII of the *Mahabharata* presupposes a knowledge of the *Ramayana* as represented in the Bombay recension.

There is only one reference to Buddha in the *Ramayana*, and that is in an interpolated passage. The genuine work is therefore pre-Buddhistic in origin, whilst the Yavanas, i. e. the Ionians or Greeks, are only twice mentioned, once in Book I and once in Book IV, which Jacobi has shown to be an interpolation. These additions, therefore, must have been made sometime after 300 B.C.

The cumulative evidence leads to the conclusion that the genuine portion of the *Ramayana*, Books II–VI, were composed not later than 500 B.C., whilst the more recent portions were not added until the second century B.C. and later. The social condition of India as

presented in the *Ramayana* is that of a number of petty kings, whilst in the *Mahabharata* we are confronted with a great empire, a state of things corresponding to that existing in the fourth century, when Alexander invaded that region.[1] Lassen and Weber think that the *Ramayana* refers to the first conquest of the Dravidian peoples of the Deccan by the Aryans : on the other hand, Jacobi, followed by Macdonell, holds that it contains no such allegory, but is based on Indian mythology. 'The foundation of the second part would then be a celestial myth of the *Veda* transformed into a narrative of earthly adventures according to a not uncommon development.' Yet we have learned on a preceding page (p. 126) that the Hindu gods are not mere personifications of the phenomena of Nature, such as winter and summer, nor yet abstract vegetation spirits, but are to be regarded in almost every case as having once been men or women, whose exploits, virtues, or sufferings deeply impressed their contemporaries. We must therefore reject Jacobi's method of interpreting the epic and look to some great chieftain and his family as the theme round which the poem grew up.

The original is probably an epic on a king of Ayodhya. The main story of the *Ramayana* opens with an account of that town under the rule of Dasaratha, who, by three wives, had respectively three sons, Rama, Bharata, and Lakshmana. Rama is married to Sita, daughter of Janaka, king of Videha. Dasaratha, now old, announces in a great assembly that he desires to make Rama his heir. This was received with great rejoicing by his subjects on account of Rama's popularity. But Kaikeyi, one of the king's three wives, who had borne Bharata to him, wishing that her son should succeed to the throne, reminded the king that he had once offered her the choice of two boons, of which she had never yet claimed the fulfilment. But the time had now come, and she called upon him in discharge of his promise to make Bharata his heir and to banish Rama for fourteen years. The king, after vain endeavours to resist her demand, sends for Rama and informs him of his fate. Rama bears the news nobly, and prepares to depart for exile. His wife, Sita, and his other brother, Lakshmana, resolve to share his fortunes and wander forth with him (Fig. 11). The aged king withdraws from Kaikeyi and, living entirely with Kaushalya, Rama's mother, finally dies of grief for his banished son.

Rama meantime has lived happily with Sita and his brother in the

[1] As this section was already in type before my friend Professor E. J. Rapson's admirable book *Ancient India* (Cambridge, 1914) was published, I was unable to make use of it.

wild forest of Dandaka. On Dasaratha's death, Bharata is summoned to the throne, but with great nobility refuses the succession and sets out for the forest to bring Rama back to Ayodhya. Rama, though much moved by his brother's behaviour, declines to return until he has fulfilled his vow of exile. He hands over to Bharata his gold-embroidered shoes as a sign that he hands over his rights to him. But Bharata, on his return to Ayodhya, places Rama's shoes on the throne, and keeping the royal umbrella over them holds council and dispenses justice at their side.

Rama now sets about the task of overthrowing the giants that infested the Dandaka forest and were a terror to the pious hermits who dwelt therein. By the aid of the sage Agastya, he obtains the weapons of Indra and opens successful operations against the demons. Their chief, Ravana, enraged and determined on revenge, turns one of his followers into a golden deer, which appears to Sita. While Rama and Lakshmana give chase at her request, Ravana, disguised as an ascetic, carries off Sita by force and wounds the vulture Jatayu, which guarded her abode. Rama, on his return, is filled with grief, but as he burns the remains of the vulture, a voice from the pyre proclaims to him how he can subdue his foe and regain Sita. He straightway makes a solemn alliance with the chiefs of the monkeys, Hanumat and Sugriva. With the help of the latter Rama slew the giant Bali. Hanumat, meantime, crosses from the mainland into Lanka, the island of Ceylon, the territory of Ravana. Here he finds Sita wandering disconsolate in a grove and tells her that help is at hand. Hanumat slays many demons and then returns and reports his discovery to Rama.

A plan of campaign is then arranged; the monkeys miraculously build a bridge from the mainland to Lanka with the aid of the god of the sea, and over it Rama leads his host, slays Ravana, and recovers his lost Sita (Fig. 12). She undergoes the ordeal of fire, and thus, free from all suspicion of infidelity, is brought home by Rama in triumph to Ayodhya, where he reigns gloriously in association with his generous brother Bharata (Fig. 12), and brings to his subjects a new golden age. Such is the bare outline of Valmiki's epic. But by the addition at a later date of the first and last books this epic has been transformed into a glorification of the god Vishnu. It is treated on this wise. Ravana, the demon king, had obtained from Brahma the boon of being invulnerable to gods, demi-gods, and demons, but had abused this immunity in so terrible a fashion that the gods were filled with despair. At last they remembered that in his arrogance Ravana had forgotten to beg for immunity against men, and

FIG. 11. A dramatic representation of Rama, Sita, and Lakshmana going into the jungle. (*From a photograph.*)

forthwith they implore Vishnu to be reincarnated as a man for the destruction of Ravana. The great god accordingly consented to be born as Rama, and the overthrow of the wicked king of Lanka is thus brought to pass. At the end of the Seventh Book Brahma and the other gods come to Rama, do obeisance to him, and declare that he is really Vishnu, the glorious lord of the discus. Professor Macdonell[1] states that 'the belief here expressed that Rama is the seventh incarnation of Vishnu, the highest god, has secured to the hero of our epic the worship of the Hindus down to the present day. That belief, forming the fundamental doctrine of the religious system of Ramanuja in the twelfth, and of Ramananda in the fourteenth century, has done much to counteract the spread of the degrading superstitions and impurities of Sivaism both in the south and in the north of India.' But this seems somewhat to overstate the case, for we shall see good reason for believing that it is the human side of the hero-god Rama-Vishnu, and not the divine, which has made the *Ramayana* so popular to this hour.

The Mahabharata, or the Great Battle of the Descendants of Bharata. There can be no doubt that the poem has reached its present portentous size of 200,000 slokas from a long series of accretions, moral, religious, and philosophical, gathered round an original epic nucleus which had a real historical background, since a passage in Book I declares that the poem had at one time contained only 24,000 slokas before the episodes (*Upakhyana*) were added, that it originally consisted of only 8,800 slokas, and also that it has three beginnings. Hence it has not unreasonably been inferred that the poem as it now stands is the result of at least three stages of development from the time when it first assumed definite epic shape. The epic incident on which grew up this vast fabric describes the eighteen days' fight between the Koravas, headed by Duryodhana, and the Pandavas, led by Krishna and Yudishthira, the eldest of the five sons of Pandu the 'Pale'. These two families were cousins, both being descended from King Bharata, son of the heroine Sakuntala, the subject of the most famous of Hindu dramas, the *Sakuntala* of Kalidasa. There seems every ground for believing that the poem was based on an ancient war between the neighbouring and related tribes of Koravas and Puru Panchalas, who later formed one people. From passages in the *Yajur-Veda*, and in the *Kathaka*, the germ of the story can be traced back to a date which can hardly be later than the tenth century before Christ, and may of course be earlier.

There is every probability that the story was first embodied in

[1] *A History of Sanskrit Literature* (1900), p. 283.

FIG. 12. Rama's enthronement on his recovery of Sita and return from exile. Rama and his three brothers, Lakshmana, Bharata and Shatrughna, and Sita, with King Bhibhikshana on Rama's left. (*From a photograph of a Rama Lila company playing Rama scenes.*)

ballad form, and there seems equally little doubt that Dhritarashtra, who figures prominently in the epic, was a real personage. The original epic was probably composed on the tragic fate of the sons of Kuru, who with justice and virtue on their side perished through the treachery of their kinsmen, the victorious sons of Pandu the 'Pale', with Krishna the 'Black' at their head.

It must be carefully borne in mind that, although at the present day Krishna is the most popular of all the deities of Hindustan, it is as one who had been once only a mortal that he is especially celebrated in Hindu mythology. The name Krishna, 'black,' occurs in the *Veda*, but without any reference to the great hero. Thus Indra is stated to have slain many thousands of Krishnas, in which there is probably an allusion to the dark-skinned aborigines, with whom the fair Aryans were ever at war. The hero-deity Krishna, on the other hand, is represented as of the Yadava race, being descended from Yadu, one of the sons of Yayati. The Yadavas from old had been a pastoral people and dwelt on the Yamuna (Jumna), in Vrindavana, on its western side, and in Gokula on its other. In those days Kansa, rajah of the Bhojas, after deposing his father, Ugrasena, ruled in the city of Mathura (Muttra), near Vrindavana. Ugrasena had a brother, by name Devaka, who had a daughter named Devaki, who married Vasu-Deva, son of Sura, also a descendant of Yadu. From Vasu-Deva and Devaki sprung Krishna. His reputed father was brother of Kunti, wife of Pandu, and thus Krishna was first cousin of the three elder Pandava princes. According to legend, his dark complexion was regarded as a very unusual feature in his family. There are two summaries of his exploits in the *Mahabharata*, and he is said to have been present at the *swayamvara* of Draupadi, declaring that she was properly won by his cousin Arjuna. There seems little doubt that the hero lived in the Epic age, when the Hindus had not advanced far beyond their early settlements in North-western India.

When he was born, Kansa, as we have seen, was King of Mathura, near Vrindavana. As it had been foretold that a son born of Devaki should slay him, Kansa took steps to destroy all her children. When, however, Krishna, her eighth child, was born, his parents fled with him, and the tyrant thereupon gave orders, like Herod of Jewry, for a general massacre of all male infants. Henceforward he became the chief persecutor of Krishna, and was eventually slain by that hero (p. 140). The latter's parents had given him in charge to the cowherd Nanda, who removed the child to Gokula. When he grew to man's estate, he persuaded Nanda and the cowherds to give up the worship

FIG. 13. Krishna and his playmates lurking in the bushes to levy tolls on the women of Brija as they pass through a *ghatee* (a small valley). (*From a native painting.*)

of Indra and to worship the mountain Govardhana. He then migrated with all his people to the coast of Gujerat, where he occupied and fortified Dwaraka. When the Pandavas were reigning at Indroprastha, Krishna paid them a visit and went out hunting with them in the Khandava forest. He met his death by accident. A hunter, seeing him at a distance, mistook him for a deer and killed him with an arrow. His cousin Arjuna then proceeded to Dwaraka and performed his funeral obsequies. A few days later Dwaraka itself was swallowed by the sea. It is thus quite clear that the Hindus regard Krishna as having been once a mortal king. He is now, as we have seen, come to be a great deity, being the eighth avatar of Vishnu, or rather a direct manifestation of Vishnu himself.

The slaying of Kansa by Krishna, as we shall soon see, was the subject of the earliest dramatic performance recorded for us in Hindu literature. According to the *Mahabhashya*, which cannot be later than the first century after Christ, in this performance the *Granthikas* divided themselves into two parties; those representing the followers of Kansa had their faces blackened, those of Krishna had their faces red, and 'they expressed the feelings of both sides throughout the struggle from Krishna's birth to the death of Kansa'. On this story alone Dr. A. B. Keith[1] rests his belief in the theory of the origin of tragedy still held by Sir James Frazer and Dr. Farnell, and with which I have dealt at length on earlier pages (18–21).[2] 'The mention of the colour of the two parties', he writes, 'is most significant; red man slays black man: the spirit of spring and summer prevails over the spirit of the dark winter. The parallel is too striking to be mistaken; we are entitled to say that in India, as in Greece, this dramatic ritual slaying of winter is the source whence drama is derived.' This too is the only reason that he gives for his opinion expressed in the same place that 'Ridgeway's theory of the origin of drama from the festivals in honour of the dead . . . seems to be still improbable, as an explanation of the origin of tragedy'. But Dr. Keith forgets that the Red men who slay Black men are themselves led by Krishna the 'Black', and thus Red men led by Black man slay Black men, which on his own principle can only mean that Winter aided by Summer slays Winter. Plainly, then, Winter is divided against himself and commits suicide. The judicially-minded reader will opine that in the slaying of the Negro Doctor

[1] *Jour. Royal Asiatic Soc.*, 1911, p. 1008 ('The Vedic Akhyana and the Indian Drama').

[2] Cf. *Origin of Tragedy*, pp. 73–8.

FIG. 14. Krishna attempts to steal the clothes of the Gopis when bathing in the Jumna. (*From a native picture.*)

by Punch without the aid of another gentleman of colour (Fig. 2) we have really more cogent evidence for *Punch and Judy* being a drama of Summer slaying Winter than that on which Dr. Keith bases his theory of the origin of the Hindu drama. Moreover, when we recall the fact admitted by Dr. Keith himself of the conquest by the fair-complexioned Aryans of the dark aborigines of Hindustan, and their admixture as time went on, and when we are further told that Krishna the Black was quite different in colour from the rest of his race, it is but natural that the Yadavas should be represented with ruddy faces, and the followers of Kansa as the dark-skinned aborigines. Dr. Keith might just as reasonably see a combat between Winter and Summer in any of the many battles between British troops and native armies in the long struggle which eventuated in the conquest of India. The evidence for repeated invasions of Hindustan by men of light colour from beyond the mountains is as good as that for its conquest by the white race from the western seas. Krishna, who eventually was made the eighth avatar of Vishnu, a god regarded by Dr. Keith as the Sun, must also be held by that scholar to be the Sun-god, or at least the spirit of light and spring. But as all traditions agree in making Krishna black, Dr. Keith thus represents the Sun-god himself as a black man, which may be regarded as the wildest of all the many vagaries of his school. No doubt he could cite in support of his view the words of Shakespeare's Prince of Morocco :

> Mislike me not for my complexion,
> The sable livery of the burnished sun,
> To whom I am a neighbour and near bred,

as evidence that a black man was a proper symbol of the sun. But though this would be distinctly stronger evidence than that on which he rests his whole case, no ordinary person is likely to admit its cogency. From the references to Sir James Frazer's *Adonis, Attis, Osiris* (ed. 2) in the appendix to Dr. Keith's translation of the *Sankhyana Aranyaka*[1] the source of the latter's inspiration is clear. But as Sir James Frazer in his third edition of his work (1914) now admits that ' under the mythical pall of the glorified Osiris . . . there once lay the body of a dead man ', Dr. Keith shares the fate which awaits all who rear lofty and pretentious structures upon the quick-sands of conjectural folk-lore.[2]

[1] Pp. 78, 80 (*bis*), 82, 84.

[2] Mr. E. P. Horrwitz in his bright little book, *The Indian Theatre* (1912), pp. 178–9, is also under the spell of the *Golden Bough* and *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, when dealing with the origin of the Indian drama.

Fig. 15. Krishna and Radhika in a swing. The Rasdharis are Bengali lads of some company (*Mandala*) attached to a temple belonging to some Vishnuite committee of disciples of Goranga, who flourished in Bengal in the reign of Akbar and who is regarded as an incarnation of Krishna, as King George V is now (p. 182). (*From a native picture.*)

Elsewhere Dr. Keith[1] discusses the Hindu festival called the *Mahavrata*, 'which in the accepted system of the Vedic sacrifices forms the second last day of the *Gavamayana Sattra*, which lasts a year and is a symbol of the year.' 'There can, however,' writes he, 'be no doubt that this position of the day is rather artificial, and that the *Mahavrata* marks the commencement of the year. The priestly ingenuity which has transferred the *Mahavrata* to the second last day of the year has created a duplicate in the *Caturvimśa*, the second day of the *Gavamayana*, but it is easy to see through so obvious a manipulation.' Much more obscure is the relation of the *Mahavrata* and the *Visuvant* Day, which in the accepted system is reckoned as the middle of the *Gavamayana*. Professor Hillebrandt holds that 'the *Visuvant* and *Mahavrata* have been interchanged by the priests, and that originally the *Mahavrata* fell on the summer solstice and the *Visuvant* began the year at the winter solstice'. But the accepted view, says Dr. Keith, places the *Mahavrata* at the winter solstice. Others have regarded six monthly periods as referring to the equinoxes. Dr. Keith disposes effectively of Professor Hillebrandt's arguments for the transference of the *Mahavrata* from the summer solstice to the winter. Krishna, the eighth avatar of Vishnu, a god held by Dr. Keith to be the sun, ought to have his birthday at the winter solstice. If this were so, there would be more to say in favour of Dr. Keith's assumption that Krishna and his ruddy-faced followers represent the victory of sun and light over darkness. But is this really the case? On the contrary, as we shall see soon (p. 184), the birthday of Krishna falls in the fifth month of the Samvat era, i.e. in July or August, a season not particularly appropriate for the re-birth of the Sun-god or the renewal of light and spring. The evidence shows that Krishna was a human hero who, like Osiris, was ultimately identified with the sun. Until Dr. Keith and his school can adduce some more cogent reasons, we may rest content in the belief that the first Hindu drama of which we hear had nothing whatever to do with solar festivals, but that, like the dramas in honour of Hussein and Osiris, it was a commemoration of some great man and some memorable struggle, not between nature powers, but between rival clans or races. This will be amply corroborated by the evidence available from India itself. It will suffice to point out here that if the Greek Drama arose, as Dr. Keith supposes, in the ritual slaying of winter, it seems curious that the Great Dionysia should have been held in April, by which time the

[1] *The Sankhyana Aranyaka, with an Appendix on the Mahavrata*, Royal Asiatic Soc., Oriental Trans. Fund, vol. xviii, pp. 873 *sqq*.

Greek winter was nearly dead of itself, and there was therefore no need to reslay the slain.

Fig. 16. Krishna acts as an attendant to his sweetheart Radhika. (*From a native painting.*)

Dr. Keith[1] points out that whilst the *Mahavrata* ritual 'cannot be later than the eighth century B.C., it is of considerable interest that it contains no trace of vegetation spirits such as can be found

[1] *The Sankhyana Aranyaka, with an Appendix on the Mahavrata*, Royal Asiatic Soc., Oriental Translations, vol. xviii, p. 85.

in ancient Mediterranean rituals, and this fact renders us entitled to be cautious before necessarily assuming that all these vegetation and fertility spells involve the conception of a vegetation spirit, an idea not readily verified in the other Vedic texts. No doubt in the later Hindu religion among its strange characteristics are many which depend on the idea of a vegetation spirit, but in such cases non-Aryan influence is certainly at work, either adding a new aspect of religious thought or bringing into the foreground an aspect which for some reason or other was not prominent in the mass of conceptions which may be termed Vedic religion'.

As we proceed in our inquiry we shall find evidence in many quarters indicating that vegetation spirits come only late in the growth of religious ideas and are not to be regarded as primary.

Megasthenes, the envoy of Seleucus I to the court of Chandra Gupta (*circa* 300 B.C.), when stating that Heracles was worshipped at Mothura, i.e. Mathura (Muttra), the birthplace of Krishna, of which we shall presently have much to say, was singularly happy in thus identifying Krishna with the great Greek hero, who, though regarded simply as a mortal man in Homer, was later raised to Olympus, just as Krishna, the Pandava captain, has become the most popular of Hindu gods.

The various steps towards this complete apotheosis can be traced in the *Mahabharata*. Additions and interpolations have raised him to divinity, and it is in his character of the 'divine one' that he delivers a famous song, the *Bhagavad-Gita*, in which he is represented as expounding to Arjuna his own philosophical doctrines. This is a production of a comparatively late date, though now made part of the great epic. In this he is made to declare himself to be the Supreme Being. He says: 'All this Universe has been created by me, all things exist in me,' and Arjuna is made to address him as 'the supreme universal spirit, the supreme dwelling, the eternal person, divine, prior to the gods, unborn, omnipresent'. The divine character of Krishna having been thus established, it was still further developed in the *Hari-vansa*, a later addition to the *Mahabharata*, whilst in the *Puranas*, especially in the *Bhagavata Purana*, it attained its fullest expansion. In it the life of Krishna from his earliest days is related with minute details, and it is upon this portion of his life that the Hindu mind delights to dwell, and that the most popular plays are based. The mischievous pranks of the child, the sports of the boy (Figs. 13 and 14) with the Cowherds and the Cow-maidens (Gopis), and the amours of the youth, especially with Radhika (Figs. 15–17), are the subjects of boundless wonder and

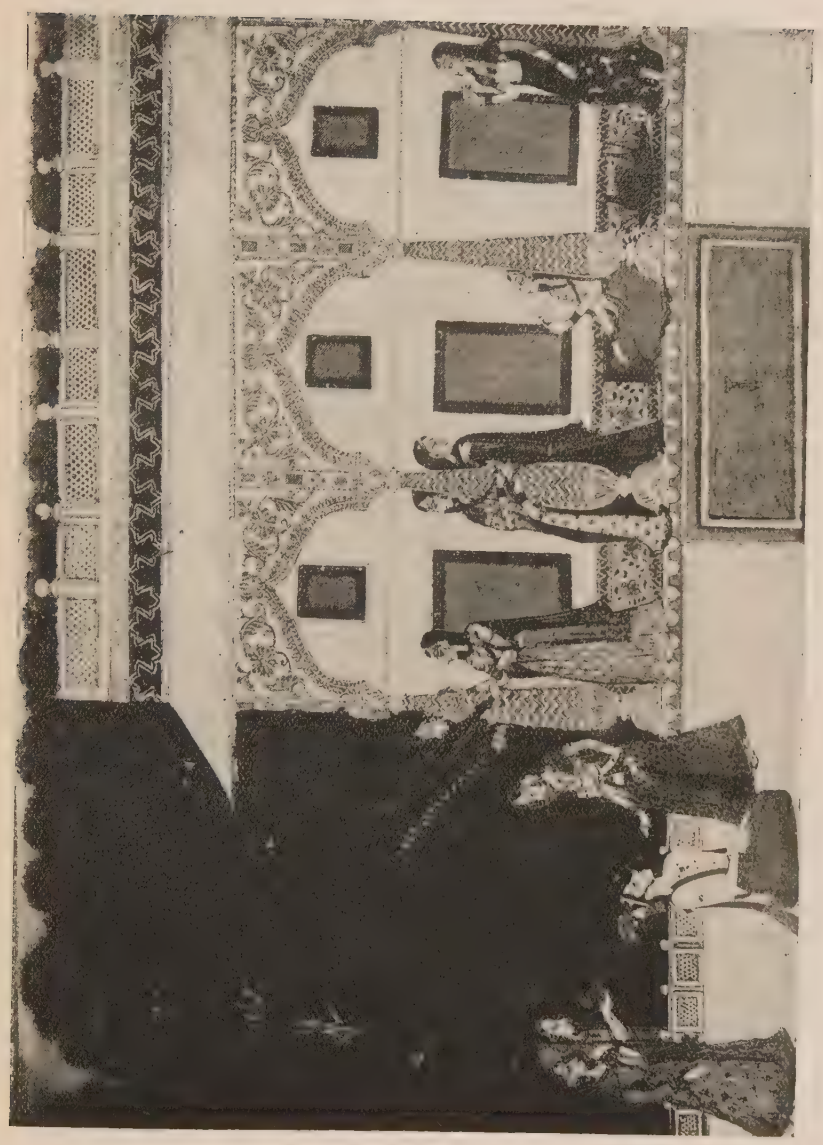

FIG. 17. Krishna helps Rhadika to tie her anklet, which became loose as she danced.

delight. Though much of the story of his childhood and youth is of comparatively modern invention, yet the incidents of his relation with the Pandava princes are amongst the most ancient. Thus, though he may be now regarded as a mighty deity, it is upon Krishna as a mortal man that the Hindu mind has loved to dwell from first to last.

The *Mahabharata* is thus not merely a heroic poem (Kavya), but is a compendium of moral and philosophic teaching. Its title, *Karshna-veda*, 'Veda of Krishna' (who is the eighth avatar of Vishnu), the occurrence of a famous invocation of Narayana, and Nara (names of Vishnu), and Sarasvati, wife of Vishnu, at the beginning of each of its larger sections, and the prevalence of Vishnuite doctrines throughout the work, prove it to have been *smriti* of the ancient Vishnuite sect of the Bhagavatas.

It is now clear that although the cult of Vishnu was grafted upon the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* at a later date by Vishnu sects, the poems centre, not in the deeds of Vishnu but in Rama, king of Ayodhya and Krishna of Mathura, the Pandava captain, and that both poems bear names derived, not from Vishnu but from Rama and Krishna. We are therefore inevitably forced to the conclusion that it is the strictly human and not the divine element which has through long ages drawn to them the love and veneration of the Hindus.

'In the *Vedas* we hear chiefly of the worship of the great divinities; the Epics present the actions of heroes as mortal men, whilst the *Puranas* celebrate the powers and the works of gods and represent a later and more extravagant development of Hinduism, of which they are in fact the Scriptures. But the chief part of the *Puranas* is held to be very old and primitive. Thus, though the *Puranas* belong especially to that stage of the Hindu religion in which faith in some divinity was the prevailing principle, they are also a valuable record of the form of Hindu belief, which came next in order to that of the *Vedas*, and in which the latter had hero-worship grafted on to them.' This form had been extensively established in India by the time of the Greek invasion. But it is not at all impossible that already in the Vedic period the veneration and worship of heroic men, such as Vasishtha, existed side by side with the worship of the divinities.

But another and no less important phase of religion and one which exerted a powerful influence on Hindu literature was to follow closely on the Epic. Though the doctrines of Sakya Muni, the Buddha, find no place in the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, there

FIG. 18. Krishna performing a *lila* on the bank of the Jumna in the rainy season : the cows come running on hearing the sound of his flute : the cowboys are in attendance.

can be no question that the preaching of Gautama Buddha, the Light of Asia, had already powerfully affected Indian thought when Alexander led his troops down the eastern slopes of the Hindu Kush. No one has ever doubted that such a man as Gautama once lived and taught. Gautama was a family name of the Sankhyas of Kapilavasu amongst whom the Buddha was born, some time in the sixth century before the birth of Christ, and there can be just as little question that he died, or to use the Buddhist phrase, attained Nirvana, in 477 B.C., whilst within the past few years his cremated relics, contained in a little urn (Fig. 19), have been discovered by Sir J. H. Marshall, K.C.I.E., at Peshawar, in a place which Hindu tradition had persistently regarded as the resting-place of his mortal remains. He was thus a contemporary of Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius Hystaspes, and died in the reign of Xerxes. Cyrus had reduced to subjection the Indian tribes of Gandharas and Asvakas ; and Darius had extended his sway to the Indus. It was in the reign of the latter sovereign that Scylax the Greek was said to have travelled in India and to have navigated the Indus (509 B.C.). Moreover, in the host led by Xerxes into Greece in 480 B.C. there were contingents of Gandharas and Indians, whose costume and fashion of armature are described by Herodotus.

In 327 B.C., Alexander, fresh from the overthrow of the Persian king, crossed the great mountain range and reached the Indus, arriving at Taxila in 326 B.C. In that city, whose stupendous ruins are now being explored by Sir J. H. Marshall with signal success, the Greeks first beheld the 'wise men of the Indians' and marvelled at their asceticism and strange doctrines. On the river Jhelum the great Emathian conqueror defeated Porus, king of the Puravas, whose name seems simply that of his own tribe. Forthwith the victor set up satraps over what is now the Punjab and Scindh, sailed down to the mouths of the Indus, and returned through Gedrosia.

After Alexander's death Eudemus, the Greek satrap, had Porus assassinated, and this crime led to a successful rebellion, headed by a young adventurer named Chandra Gupta, known to the Greeks as Sandracottos. This able man made himself master of the Indus region by 315 B.C., dethroned the king of Patalaputra (Patna), made that city his own capital, and by 305 B.C. had possessed himself of the whole valley of the Ganges. Thus was founded the famous Maurya dynasty, which lasted until 184 B.C.[1] His empire was the greatest yet known in Hindustan, extending from the mouths of the Ganges to the Himalayas. Seleucus, now king of Syria, sent

[1] E. J. Rapson, *Ancient India*, pp. 99–112.

Megasthenes to the court of the Indian conqueror at Patna, where he resided for some years (*circa* 300 B.C.).

But though it is clear from Megasthenes that the disciples of Gautama were already numerous and powerful by 300 B.C., it is no less plain from the same passage that Brahmanism was still the

FIG. 19. The Reliquary of Buddha found at Peshawar.[1]

dominant religion. Just as Christianity had to wait for three centuries before it became the State religion of Rome, so two centuries had to elapse before Buddhism found its Constantine, who appeared at last in Asoka, the grandson of Chandra Gupta. This great man extended his goodly heritage, and, having become a warm adherent of Buddha, spread his tenets *pari passu* with his temporal dominion,

[1] The illustration is from a cast which Sir J. H. Marshall presented through the writer to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

even planting it as far south as Ceylon. But after his death the sceptre was wielded by feebler hands, and by 200 B.C. the Greeks of Bactria had begun the conquest of Western India, where their sway continued for some fourscore years.

In his *Indica*, of which only fragments embedded in Strabo and other writers have survived, Megasthenes not only set out the military and civil organization of the empire of Chandra Gupta, and described the geography and extent of India and its productions, but also makes mention of the ascetics who dwelt in forests, and of the two chief sects of philosophers, whom he terms respectively *Brachmanes* and *Garmanai* or *Sarmanai*, clearly meaning the Brahmans and the Buddhists ; and he adds the important remark that the Brahmans were the more popular.[1] By the Indian Zeus he clearly means Indra, and by Dionysus, who was worshipped in the mountains, Siva. He also states that the people of the plains worshipped Heracles, especially in the city of Mothura. Now, as this is beyond question Mathura (Muttra), the birthplace of Krishna, it has been universally assumed that by Heracles Megasthenes meant that god. But it must be remembered that as Krishna is not known to the Buddhist Sutras, it is not impossible that by Heracles the Greek traveller meant the older hero, Rama, whose cult to this day is so prominent at Muttra, near or at which the *Ramayana* itself took shape, whereas the *Mahabharata*, in which the glories of Krishna are enshrined, is a product of Western India.

Now since the Hindus regard Rama as the seventh and Krishna as the eighth incarnation of Vishnu, it seems certain that the cult of Krishna was later than, and was accordingly superimposed on, that of Rama at Mathura. Why this took place is not far to seek. In some famous lines Xenophanes pointed out that the Ethiopians made their gods like themselves, in dark colour, woolly hair, and flat noses, whilst the red Thracians represented their deities with red hair ; Aristotle went still further and alleged that just as men make their gods in their own images, so do they also liken to their own the lives of their gods. This principle is still at work, and no better example of it can be cited than one in a Roman Catholic church at Algiers, much frequented by negroes, where the Madonna is represented as a negress. The Hindu Pantheon furnishes examples no less striking. Indra, the great god of the Aryans of the *Rig-Veda*, is represented as fair-complexioned, like his people ; so too in the epic are the great Aryan families of Ayodhya, to which Rama and Pandu the Pale belonged, since in that family the birth of a child

[1] Strabo, 606. 25. Ed. Didot.

of black complexion, like Krishna, is regarded as a special phenomenon. As the blond Aryans dwindled away and were absorbed by intermarriage, physically as well as morally, into their subjects, the masses of dark-skinned aborigines naturally adored with especial warmth and veneration a hero who embodied their own physical aspect and their own morals. That his cult was a revolt against those of the Aryans seems clear from the legend that he incited the cowherds of Gokula to revolt against the cult of Indra, the great fair-complexioned Aryan deity. We may thus regard the superimposition of the cult of Krishna upon that of Rama as marking a recrudescence of the aborigines and their cults, since in Krishna the Black and his loose morals were mirrored their own physical and moral characteristics.

The Drama. 'The earliest forms of dramatic literature in India', writes Professor Macdonell, 'are represented by those hymns of the *Rig-Veda* which contain dialogues, such as those of Sarama and the Panis, Yama and Yami, Pururavas, and Urvaci, the latter being the foundation of a similar play composed much more than one thousand years later by the greatest dramatist of India.'[1] But the fact that certain poems are in dialogue form, and that some of these have formed themes for true dramas at a later period, does not in any wise indicate that even the first step towards drama proper had been taken. Theocritus wrote idylls in dialogue, but no one would dream of terming them dramas, whilst, though the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are full of dialogues and furnished the themes for a large proportion of the extant Greek tragedies, some four or five centuries elapsed between their creation and the development of anything like a true tragedy. As the doctrine that in the *Rig-Veda* we have the beginnings of the Indian drama has of late met with much favour, it will be advisable to discuss briefly the main grounds for this theory.

Besides the vast body of hymns in the *Rig-Veda* which embody the praises of the gods in whose ritual they were employed, there is a comparatively small number of hymns, such as those to which Professor Macdonell alludes, for which the great commentator Sayana gives no technical ritual use. These generally have a dialogue form, or may be deemed to have that form. The technical term for such hymns was *Samvada*, but there seems no doubt that they could also be included in the more general term *itihasa* (legend), and possibly *akhyana* (narrative).[2] Now upon this class of hymns have

[1] *A History of Sanskrit Literature* (1913), p. 346.

[2] Dr. A. B. Keith, 'The Vedic Akhyana and the Indian Drama,' *Journ. Roy. As. Society*, 1911, pp. 979 *sqq.*

been built two well-known theories. The first is the so-called *akhyana* theory of Professors Windisch and Oldenberg, supported by Professors Pischel and Geldner, the last of these preferring the term *itihasa* to *akhyana* for this supposed form of literature, which is thought to have been essentially a mixture of prose and verse, and which was narrative in character. But with the natural liking for direct speech, the narrative every now and then is supposed to have taken the dialogue form, just as in the Homeric poems the poet shows so marked a preference for direct speech, and in these passages it is held that verse was normally used. Finally, as there is no sign of prose in the extant hymns, Professor Oldenberg has to assume that whilst the verse was carefully handed down the prose was lost.

Vedic Ritual Drama. The other theory is that put forward in germ in 1869 by Professor Max Müller, when explaining a hymn to the Maruts.[1] This was developed with great ability by Professor Lévi,[2] who claimed that in the dialogues of these hymns are to be seen the signs of an Indian drama; he further urged, in support of this assumption of a very early Hindu drama, the love of the Indians for song and dance. But it is needless to point out that both song and dance may exist for generations without ever being developed into a true dramatic form; he further argued that these dialogue hymns were not a mere product of the poet's fancy, but that he reproduced in them scenes which he himself had actually beheld, and he supposes that the priests availed themselves of this means of bringing vividly before the people the majesty of the gods and their laws. In this primitive drama he thinks that he recognizes the restriction of the actors to three, and also a chorus, human or divine. This theory has lately been given fresh life by the powerful advocacy of Professor Leopold von Schroeder and Dr. Johannes Hertel. But, as Dr. Keith well points out, ritual dialogue must be sharply distinguished from dramatic ritual. The ritual dialogue in the ancient Indian sacrifice was not dramatic, but merely liturgical, like many parts of the English Church services; for example, where the clergyman says, 'Lift up your hearts,' and the people reply, 'We lift them up unto the Lord.' In this there is nothing mimetic, and therefore nothing dramatic, since mimesis is the essence of drama. Professor von Schroeder fails to observe this fundamental though simple distinction. Thus he claims the famous Frog hymn of the *Rig-Veda*[3] as dramatic, and suggests that it was recited or rather sung by a party of Brahmans beside or standing in a pool or tank with frogs

[1] *Rig-Veda*, i. 165.

[2] Followed by Horrwitz, *The Indian Theatre*, pp. 23–4.

[3] vii. 102.

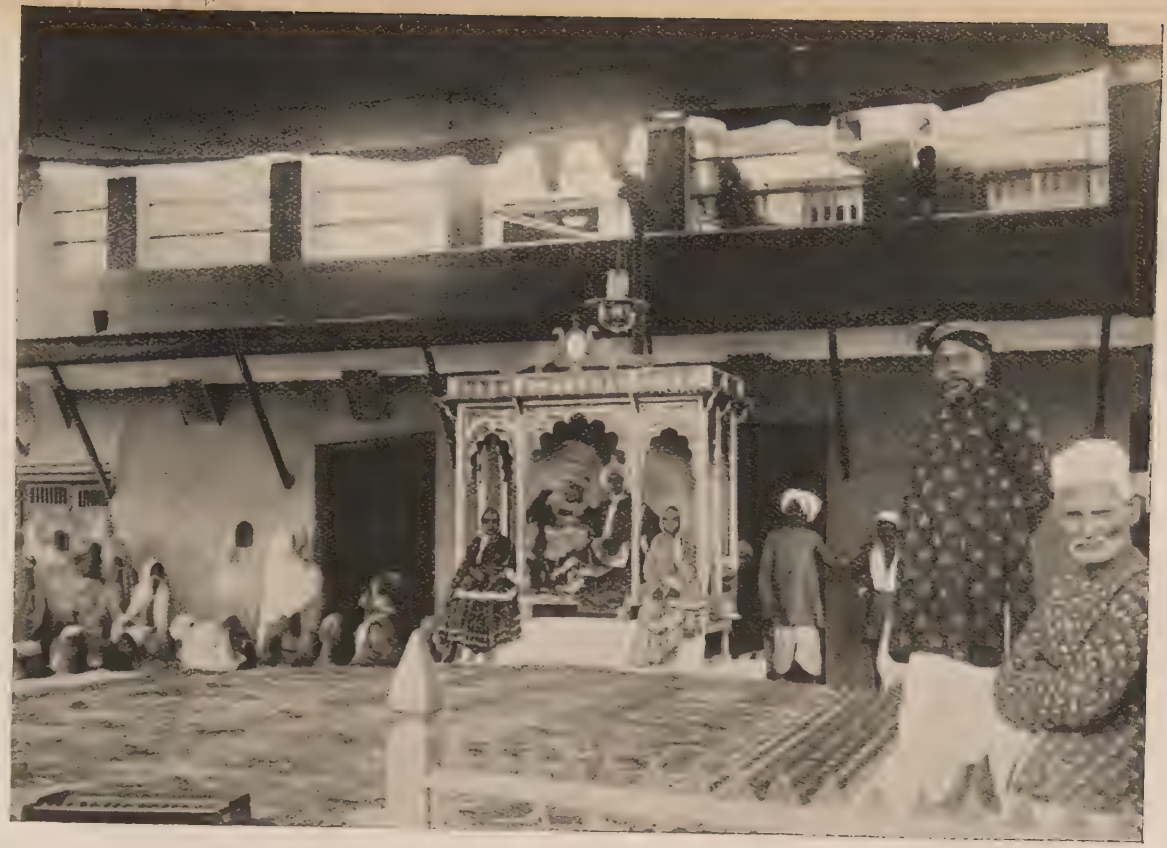

FIG. 20. Stage for a Religious Hindu Drama.[1]

[1] From a photograph by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Westcott, Lucknow. Cf. p. 201 *n*.

in it, and straightway compares it with the *Frogs* of Aristophanes and the numerous other Greek comedies with beast-names, suggesting that the whole was derived from a mimetic Frog dance, the frog being one form of the vegetation spirit. As Dr. Keith [1] well points out, it is nothing more than a rain-spell, is not a dramatic reproduction at all, and to call it a drama is only to confuse the issue.

Again, Professor von Schroeder claims as a drama 'the harmless little hymn, *Rig-Veda* ix. 112, which has ever been regarded as the utterance of a Brahman while the Soma is being pressed, showing his desire to win a rich patron even as other mortals seek other things to satisfy them, and makes it into a scene of revelry by a masked crew of vegetation spirits dancing to music and singing the song'. At the furthest this would be only a case of dramatic ritual and not real drama.

Professor Winternitz in a study of the whole issue, whilst admitting the validity of the ritual drama theory in certain hymns, maintains, however, that it only provides an alternative to, not a substitute for, the 'narrative' doctrine, to which in certain other cases he still adheres. Dr. Keith, after a searching analysis of the facts and the arguments built on them, has come to the conclusion that neither theory affords a satisfactory solution of the problem. In view also of the fact that the *Mahavrata* (pp. 145–6) shows no trace of any cult of a vegetation spirit, we may safely follow Dr. Keith in rejecting the ritual drama theory based on the non-ritual hymns of the *Rig-Veda*, which, as we have already said, contains poems purely historical, such as those that deal with the exploits of Vasistha and Visvamitra.

We are thus brought to the conclusion that nothing in the nature of true drama was developed in India until long after the Vedic period, a view in complete accord with the fact already cited, that the earliest reference in Hindu literature to any true dramatic performance is that to the dramatization of the exploits of Krishna, who, as we saw, does not even appear in Vedic literature.

'The origin of the acted drama is, however, wrapt in obscurity,' says Professor Macdonell, 'nevertheless the evidence of tradition and of language suffice to direct us with considerable probability to its source. The words for actor (*nata*) and play (*nataka*) are derived from the verb *nat*, the Prakrit or vernacular form of the Sanskrit *nrit*, "to dance." The name is familiar to English ears in the form of *nautch*, the Indian dancing of the present day. The latter, indeed, probably represents the beginning of the Indian drama. It must at first have consisted only of rude pantomime in which the dancing

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 997.

or movements of the body were accompanied by mute mimicking gestures of hand and face. Songs doubtless also early formed an ingredient in such performances. Thus Bharata, the name of the mythical inventor of the drama, which in Sanskrit also means *actor*, in several of the vernaculars signifies "singer", as in the Gujerati *bharot*. The addition of dialogue was the last step in the development, which was thus much the same in India and in Greece. This primitive stage is represented by the Bengal *yatras* and the *Gitagovinda*. These form the transition to the fully developed Sanskrit play in which lyrics and dialogues are blended.' *Yatra* originally meant a procession, such as those customary with the worshippers of Krishna in Bengal. But as a sort of lyrical drama was a regular concomitant of such processions, these musical dramas in time were termed *yatras*, and this continued even after they were no longer rigidly connected with sacred ritual and temple precincts.

Indian tradition describes Bharata as having caused to be acted before the gods a play representing the *swayamvara* of Lakshmi, wife of Vishnu.

It is very important to notice that the earliest dramatic representations of which we hear in Hindu literature are performances of incidents in the famous exploits of Krishna as a hero. These occur in the *Mahabhashya* of Patanjali, a famous grammarian who lived probably in the second century before Christ and not later than about A.D. 25. This work makes mention of representations of the 'Slaying of Kansa' (*Kansavadha*) (Fig. 38) and the 'Binding of Bali' (*Balibandha*) by Krishna. 'Tradition further makes Krishna and his cowherdesses the starting-point of the *Samgita*, a representation consisting of song, music, and dancing. The *Gitagovinda* is concerned with Krishna, and the modern *yatras* generally represent scenes from the life of that deity. From all this', says Professor Macdonell,[1] 'it seems likely that the Indian drama was developed in connexion with the cult of Vishnu Krishna, and that the earliest acted representations were therefore like the Mysteries of Christian Middle Ages, a kind of religious play in which scenes from the legend of the god were enacted mainly with the aid of song and dance supplemented with prose dialogue improvised by the performers.'

Puppet- and Shadow-Plays. Another theory, however, of the origin of the Hindu drama has been put forward by Professor Pischel.[2] Indeed, not only would he find the origin of the Indian drama in the

[1] *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 347.

[2] *The Home of the Puppet Play*, translated by Mildred C. Tawney (Mrs. R. N. Vyvyan) (London, 1902).

puppet-play of that country, and would assign to a like origin all the puppet-plays of mediaeval and modern European countries, but maintains that 'it is not improbable that the puppet-play is in reality everywhere the most ancient form of dramatic representation. Without doubt', he adds, 'this is the case in India, and there, too, we must look for its home.' But before he marshals his evidence for India he writes: 'The art of the puppet-player was always more or less a mystery, receiving no substantial encouragement from the cultured classes. Thus Xenophon [1] makes the puppet-player from Syracuse declare that he esteems fools above other men because they are the spectators of his puppet-plays, and consequently his means of livelihood. But it must be at once pointed out that this—the earliest reference to puppet-shows in Greece which has reached us—dates only from the fourth century before Christ, and that there is not a scintilla of evidence to indicate that the Tragedy of Thespis, Phrynichus, and Aeschylus, or the Comedy of Cratinus and Aristophanes, had their origins in anything of the kind. We do not even hear of mechanical dolls in Greece at that period, though such certainly were already known in Egypt. Thus Herodotus [2] in describing the ritual of Osiris (p. 95) declares that it is identical with that of Dionysus in Greece, except that instead of *phalli*, the Egyptian women carried obscene images representing Osiris, which were worked by a string, round the fields to ensure fertility. This passage indeed indicates that such contrivances were not known in Greece, and even if they had been, they would have been very far removed from anything like a puppet-play. There is therefore no evidence for the existence of such plays or shows prior to or contemporaneously with the great dramatists. It is therefore reasonable to infer that the puppet-show arose later in the period of decadence, first perhaps to enable country-folk to see a cheap reproduction of the great dramas performed at Athens and in other cities, and later to please the passing fancy of even the Athenians, since it is clear that puppet-shows at one time after the golden age of the drama were not patronized merely by the villagers. For Athenaeus [3] tells us that the Athenians gave to Pothinus the famous puppet-player 'the stage from which the actors of Euripides had once

[1] *Symp.* iv. 55: Ἀλλὰ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέγα φρονῶ. Ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ μήν; Ἐπὶ νὴ Δία τοῖς ἄφροσιν. οὗτοι γὰρ τὰ ἐμὰ νευρόσπαστα θεώμενοι τρέφουσί με. Cf. Plato, Legg. 644 E. Pseudo-Arist. K 6. 398[b] 16: οἱ νευροσπάσται μίαν μήρινθον ἐπισπασάμενοι ποιοῦσι καὶ αὐχένα κινεῖσθαι καὶ χεῖρα τοῦ ζῴου.

[2] ii. 48: ἀγάλματα νευρόσπαστα.

[3] i. 19 E: Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ Ποθεινῷ τῷ νευροσπάστῃ τὴν σκηνὴν ἔδωκαν, ἀφ' ἧς ἐνεθουσίων οἱ περὶ Εὐριπίδην.

inspired their audiences'. This statement supports our conclusion that the puppet-show did not precede the great dramatists, but only came into favour with the decadent Athenians of the fourth century before our era, and like that from Herodotus, is very far from proving for puppet-plays or even for displays of mechanical dolls an antiquity greater than that of true dramatic personation. Thus when we come face to face with the historical facts relating to puppet-entertainments, we find their date to be comparatively recent.

Proceeding to discuss the origin of puppets in India Dr. Pischel writes[1]: 'The words for puppet in Sanskrit are *putrika*, *duhitrika*, *puttali*, *puttalika*, all of which mean "little daughter", and also *pañcalika*. Of these words, *puttali* and *puttalika* have, as their form indicates, been adopted into the Sanskrit from the vernaculars in which they still exist to the present day.' The use of such terms as 'little daughter' or 'little girl' for puppets is not peculiar to the Hindus, since the regular Greek term κόρη (which does not occur earlier than the fourth century before Christ) as well as the Latin *pupa* and *pupula* all mean 'little girl'.

'In ancient India puppets were made out of wool, wood, buffalo horn, and ivory, and these playthings were quite as popular long ago with the girls of that country as they are with our girls at the present day. In the *Mahabharata* Princess Uttara and her friends entreat Arjuna to bring back with him from his campaign against the Kurus fine gaily-coloured delicate and soft garments for their dolls. Puppets might even become dangerous rivals to deities. A legend runs that Parvati, wife of the god Siva, made herself such a beautiful doll that she thought it necessary to conceal it from the eyes of her husband. She carried it far away to the Malaya mountain, but visited it every day that she might adorn it. Siva, rendered suspicious by her long absence, stole after her, saw the doll, fell in love with it, and gave it life. There is also an early mention made of puppets worked by machinery. We read in the *Kathasaritsagara*, the great collection of tales by the Kashmiri Somadeva, that Somaprabha, the daughter of the Asura Maya, a celebrated mechanician, brought as a present to her friend, Princess Kalingasena, a basket of mechanical wooden puppets constructed by her father. There was a wooden peg in each of the puppets, and when this was touched one of them flew through the air, fetched a wreath, and returned when ordered; another, when desired, brought water in the same way; a third danced, and a fourth carried on conversation. This delighted Kalingasena so much that she neglected her meals in order to play

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 5–7.

with them. Somadeva was not born until the eleventh century of our era, but his work is only a Sanskrit adaptation of the oldest collection of Indian fairy-tales, the *Bṛhatkatha* of Gunadhya. This work, which was written in Paisaci, one of the most ancient Prakrit dialects, has unfortunately not yet been discovered. Talking dolls, however, must not be considered as a mere invention of story-tellers.'

Again, Professor Pischel says the puppet-play 'appeals most strongly to the masses, because to them it owes its origin. It is in many cases a vehicle of old traditions', and in confirmation he cites the puppet-play of *Dr. Faust*. But it must first be shown that the puppet-play of *Dr. Faust* is older than true dramatic representations of that famous theme, such as Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus*. It might as well be argued that because the masses crowd to see in a kinematograph display *Drake*, copied from the play on the famous Elizabethan hero, previously presented on the stage of a leading London theatre, kinematograph shows preceded and gave birth to the true drama.

Let us now examine Dr. Pischel's evidence for his theory. 'Puppet-plays', he proceeds, 'are mentioned in ancient and modern writings on India, and are at the present time the only form of dramatic representation known to the country-people.' We shall presently see that the last statement is completely at variance with the actual facts. In the *Mahabharata*[1] there is an allusion to puppets made of wood, called *sutra-prata* (thread-fastened), in a passage where men are compared to them as having no will of their own, and this is referred to as an old saw (*itihasa puratana*). From this it must be older than the passage of the epic in which it is embodied. But the *Mahabharata*, as we have seen, is a congeries of accretions, many of which are comparatively late. Yet this passage in the *Mahabharata* does not necessarily refer to puppet-plays, but only to mechanical dolls or puppets, of which we have already cited an example, and to which we shall presently refer again. Even if it clearly referred to puppet-plays, it is most unlikely that it is older than the references to puppet-plays by Xenophon, Plato, and Aristotle.

'Among the social amusements mentioned in the *Treatise on Love* we find a game called *Pancalanuyanam*, or the *Mimicry of Puppets*, which, according to the commentator, consisted in the players mimicking the voices and actions of puppets. Mithila, the capital of Videha in Eastern India, is mentioned as the place where this amusement was most in vogue. Talking puppets were also introduced on the stage. In this case they were not, as a rule, worked by internal

[1] iii. 30. 21 ff.

mechanism, but by means of a thread (*sutra*) manipulated by the puppet-player. In the fifth act of the *Balaramayana*, Rajasekhara, who flourished early in the tenth century, introduced two jointed puppets constructed by the mechanic Visarada, the best pupil of Asura Maya, of whom mention has already been made. One of the puppets represented Sita, who was carried off by the demon Ravana, the other her foster-sister Sindurika. A starling that could speak Sanskrit fluently, even in verse, was placed in the mouth of the puppet representing Sita; while the puppet-player, who appeared as the demon, spoke in Sanskrit and Prakrit for the other puppets which took the leading parts. In Rajasekhara's drama the starling played his part remarkably well. Indeed the two puppets imitated the originals so closely that Ravana took them for living beings. It was only when he embraced Sita that he found out his mistake and exclaimed, "This does not feel like a woman." However, he caused the puppets to be brought to his palace for his diversion. Absurd as this incident is, we must yet be grateful to Rajasekhara for it, as it is the only passage in the whole of Indian literature where puppets appear on the stage in a Sanskrit drama, and, what is still more important, we learn from it the name for puppet-player in the tenth century. He is called *sutradhara*, i.e. "thread-holder", which corresponds to the epithet *sutraprota*, "attached to threads," applied to puppets in the *Mahabharata*, and *sutradhara* is still the name for a puppet-player in India at the present day.'

But this passage cannot be said to describe a true puppet-play, where the whole of the drama is enacted by puppets manipulated by the master of the show, who himself takes no ostensible part in the action of the drama (save voicing his puppets from behind the scene). In the scene of the *Balaramayana*, whilst Sita and her foster-sister Sindurika were represented by puppets, the puppet-player himself acted the part of Ravana. Thus, though puppets are placed on the stage, they are introduced to deceive the demon-king rather than as part of the accessories of a fully developed puppet-play. In other words, the puppets which represented Sita and her foster-sister are rather to be regarded in the light of clever mechanical toys, an explanation offered by Pischel himself for the only detailed mention in ancient India of what has been regarded as a puppet-play, that occurring in the *Kathakosa*[1]. It was performed before King Sundara on the occasion of the marriage of his son Amaracandra. The word *putrika* is used for a puppet, and in a later passage

[1] Translated by Dr. Tawney (London, 1895), p. 40; cited by Pischel, *op. cit.*, p. 28 *n.*

darah for the four puppets. These are manipulated by means of pegs (*kilikah*), as in the *Kathasaritsagara*. The 'attendants that tire the puppets' are called *veṣakaras*; the master of the puppet-show, *narttaka* (dancer), a term which, like others in this passage, has no special connexion with the puppet-play. 'This passage', Dr. Pischel rightly holds, 'has no reference to acting done by puppets, but to an exhibition of their dancing.' In other words, it is only an exhibition of mechanical toys.

Dr. Pischel also relies upon the name *sutradhara* as a proof that the puppet-play was the starting-point of the drama. 'In the drama', writes he,[1] 'as we find it in its most artistically developed form in Sanskrit and Prakrit, the stage-manager comes forward at the beginning of the piece, utters the blessing, and then introduces the prologue on the stage. This stage-manager is called *sutradhara*, "thread-holder", as in the puppet-play. From this fact, as early as 1879, a native scholar of European education, Shankar Pandurang Pandit by name, drew the reasonable conclusion that performances by puppets and paper figures must have preceded those by human beings. Otherwise it is impossible to conceive how the term *sutradhara*, i.e. "thread-holder", could be applied to a stage-manager, who has nothing whatever to do with threads.

'Now we learn from the Indian dramatists that in old days the *sutradhara* appeared and arranged a short introductory piece consisting either of dancing, songs, and instrumental music, or of song and instrumental music only, or simply one of these three. Originally, this introductory piece was of considerable length; it was gradually cut shorter and shorter, until it was finally almost abolished. At the close of this first piece the *sutradhara* retired, and in old days he was followed on the stage by another man, who resembled him in manner and appearance, and who was dressed in accordance with the subject of the play. He made known the poet's name and intimated the subject of the piece, thus speaking the prologue, as it was understood in the ancient drama. Later on he was completely abolished. He does not appear in any of the pieces preserved to us, for one *sutradhara* managed everything, as the writers on Rhetoric expressly state. This second manager was called *Sthapaka*, "the setter-up," an expression which up to this day has never been successfully explained. Except in this case the word is applied only to the priest who had to set up the images of the gods, when they were solemnly consecrated. On the stage the *sthapaka* was originally the setter-up of the puppets.'

[1] pp. 9–10.

But like so many verbal and etymological arguments in both ancient and modern times, the ingenious suggestion of Shankar Pandurang Pandit adopted by Dr. Pischel must give way to irresistible historical facts, such as those set forth above. In the first place, it must be carefully noted that the earliest occurrence of the term *sutradhara*, 'thread-holder,' for a puppet-player, is found in a work dating only from the tenth century of our era, and thus several centuries after the golden age of Sanskrit drama. But there is, however, no reason why *sutradhara* might not have been applied to a stage-manager before puppet-plays were invented, as mechanical dolls certainly were known long before that date, and just as the manipulator of mechanical toys controlled them as he pleased by pulling strings and touching pegs, so the manager who controlled living actors might well be termed 'string-puller', or, as we should say, 'wire-puller'. We have seen above (p. 156) that the regular Indian terms for actor (*nata*) and for a play (*nataka*) are derived from the verb *nat*, the Prakrit form of the Sanskrit *nrit*, 'to dance.' It is therefore very important to note that in the passage on the puppet-show in the *Kathakosa* cited above, the Sanskrit term *narttaka*, 'dancer,' is used to describe 'the master of the puppet-show'. It would thus appear that the old term 'dancer' was also applied to the person who made puppets dance or act, and that the term *sutradhara* was applied to the stage-manager at a comparatively late date.

The replacement of old terms by modern ones can be abundantly paralleled from many languages. No better example can be cited than the Albanian term for gold, φλjορι, which is simply derived from the Italian *fiorino* (Florentine, florin), the term generally applied to the gold pieces struck and used in Europe after the fourteenth century, because Florence was the first place to issue such coins. Yet no one doubts that the Albanians had known gold and had a term for it very many centuries before that date.[1] Apparently Dr. Pischel would make both the introductory piece, or 'curtain-raiser', and play proper of an Indian dramatic performance arise out of puppet-plays, because the manager of the first is termed *sutradhara*, 'thread-holder,' and that of the second, *sthapaka*, 'setter-up,' a name applied only to priests who set up images of the gods. But it must be conceded that the setting up by priests of images of gods and heroes was long anterior to any puppet-play or puppet-show, and so far as any argument can be drawn from the word *sthapaka*, the inference is that the serious drama originated in the worship of images of gods

[1] Ridgeway, *Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards*, p. 61.

or heroes, a view for which we shall soon find strong support. The term *sutradhara* may have been applied to the manager of the 'curtain-raiser', because, as in China at the present time, the drama is often preceded by a puppet-play. But, again, we shall find evidence that both the Burmese and Chinese dramas did not originate in such puppet-plays, but that the puppet-plays and shadow-plays are cheap representations based upon the true drama.

The Shadow-Play. At this point it will be convenient to discuss the relation between the puppet-play and the shadow-play, termed in Sanskrit *chaya-nataka*, concerning which so much has been written in later years, and which is so widely spread in the Indian Isles, Malaysia, Cambodia, Burma, Siam, China, Japan, Arabia, Asia Minor, and North Africa. The *chaya-nataka* is not recognized as a dramatic form in Sanskrit works on the drama, yet to this category belong at least seven dramas,[1] chief of these being the *Dutangada*, the earliest extant play of its type, the only one yet printed, and of which an English translation has lately been published by Dr. Louis H. Gray. Its theme is taken from the *Ramayana*, and of course Rama, Sita, Ravana, and Hanimat the Monkey-general figure in it.

My late colleague and lifelong friend, Professor Cecil Bendall,[2] has proved that this play was presented at a festival in honour of Kumarapaladeva, a Chaulukya king of the dynasty of Annilvad or Anhilpur who ruled in Gujerat from 1143 to 1172, the particular event commemorated being the restoration by the king of a Siva temple at Devapattan or Somnath in Kathiawar, Bombay. It was performed at the *Dhooly* festival, March 7, 1243.

The *Dutangada* exists in two main recensions, the longer one 'being a curious hybrid between a dramatic piece (with stage-directions) and a narrative poem. In the shorter recension it is divided into three scenes, and from a comparison of it with the corresponding portions of the *Ramayana* it would seem that its action implies a period of three or four days'.[3] The meaning of the term *chaya-nataka* was long obscure. Wilson[4] supposed it to denote the 'shade or outline of a drama', and he thought that the *Dutangada* 'was perhaps intended to introduce a spectacle of the drama and procession, as it is otherwise difficult to conceive what object its extreme

[1] For the full list see Dr. L. H. Gray's paper, 'The Dutangada of Subhata' (*Journ. American Oriental Soc.*, vol. xxxii, Part I, pp. 58 *seq.*).

[2] *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS., Brit. Mus.*, 105–6; *Journ. R. A. Soc.*, 1898, pp. 229–30 (cited by Gray).

[3] Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[4] *Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus*, vol. ii (ed. 2, p. 390), cited by Gray.

conciseness could have effected'. Professor Lévi[1] hesitatingly suggested that 'on serait tenté de l'expliquer par "ombre de drame" si les règles de la grammaire ne s'opposaient à cette analyse du composé *chaya-nataka*. Elles admettent du moins une explication voisine et presque identique: "drame à l'état d'ombre".' Professor Pischel originally held that *chaya-nataka* might mean a 'half-play'.[2] But in a brilliant monograph[3] he has demonstrated that it means simply and solely 'shadow play'. This kind of dramatic performance is expressly mentioned and explained by Nilakantha in his commentary on *Rupopajivanam* in the *Mahabharata* (XII. ccxcv. 5): '*Rupopajivana* is called *jalamandapika* among the Southerners, where, having set up a thin cloth, the action of kings, ministers, &c., is shown by leathern figures.'

Of this form of shadow-play—the oldest known form of lantern exhibition—'*the Dutangada* is at least the legitimate successor, and the oldest extant Indian specimen, whether it was presented after the fashion of *ombres chinoises* or by real actors.'[4]

As has been already stated, the *Dutangada* is based upon the *Ramayana*, the special episode selected being the sending of the monkey Angada (Fig. 21), who gives its name to the piece, to demand from Ravana, the Demon-king of Ceylon, the restoration of Sita, the wife of Rama. Plays based upon the Rama story have for ages enjoyed a great popularity, as we shall see, over wide areas of the East. Chief amongst them were Bhavabhuti's *Mahaviracarita*, Rajasekhara's *Balaramayana*, Murari's *Anaraghava*, Jayadeva's *Prasannaraghava*, and Ramabhadradiksita's *Janakiparinaya*.[5] There can be little doubt that they first passed to Java from Southern India, and from that island to Bali, the Malay Peninsula, Burma, Siam, and Cambodia.[6] Angada, the monkey himself, appears in Java, Bali, Siam, and Cambodia, although he is not the principal figure in any of these dramas of Further India. These dramas are produced in Java (p. 166)

[1] *Théâtre Indien*, pp. 241 *sqq.*

[2] *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1891, pp. 358 *sqq.* (cited by Gray).

[3] *Das altindische Schattenspiel*, pp. 4 *sqq.*

[4] Pischel, *op. cit.*, p. 19 q.v.

[5] Lévi, *op. cit.*, pp. 267–95 (cited by Gray).

[6] Juynboll, *Indonesische en achterindische tooneelvoorstellingen, uit het Ramayana* in *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie*, 6th ser., x, pp. 501–65; Serrurier, *De Waiang poerwa*, pp. 171–2; Bastian: *Reisen in Siam*, pp. 328 and 503–4; Moura, *Royaume de Cambodge*, vol. ii, pp. 444–58; F. W. K. Müller, *Siamesische Schattenspielfiguren, Suppl. Internat. Archiv für Ethnographie*, vii; W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, pp. 503–21; Hazen, *Bijdrage tot de kennis van het javaansche tooneel*, 28–36; T. S. Raffles, *The History of Java*, vol. i, pp. 340 *sqq.*

by puppets of buffalo-leather, which at once recall the leathern puppets used for a like purpose in Southern India (p. 165). They are exhibited by a Dalang, who, as the manager of the puppets and the speaker of the dialogue, in which he modulates his voice according to the various characters of the drama,[1] corresponds very probably to the Sanskrit *sutradhara*, although his name seems to signify merely 'stroller, strolling-player', and it has been suggested that he was primarily a priest who rendered worship to the ghosts represented by the shadows cast by the puppets on the curtain in the *wayang*.[2] At least we are justified in seeing in the Javanese *wayang purwa* (*infra*, pp. 218–23) the analogue of the Sanskrit *chaya-nataka*, and both are without doubt the congeners of the Chinese shadow-play, and the Turkish Karagoz, of which we shall speak later (p. 225). All the remaining Indian shadow-plays are later, some much later, than the *Dutangada*; one of them is based on the *Mahabharata*, another on the history of the Adilshahi dynasty which ruled in Bijapur from 1489 to 1660.

Although we are not here concerned with Dr. Pischel's theory that all the puppet-plays of mediaeval and modern Europe depend upon an Indian prototype, and that even the buffoon in German mystery plays, the clown of the Early English drama, and the Arlecchino of the Italian pantomimes are all derived from the *Vidusaka*, the buffoon 'so characteristic of the Indian drama, even in quite serious pieces', the weight attached to his name makes it necessary to point out the fatal objection to his theory. Dr. Pischel, again, suffers from lack of historical perspective. It is admitted that Harlequin (Arlecchino) is simply a diminutive from Ercole (Hercules). But as Hercules was not only turned into a buffoon in the Roman comedy, but even had already been assigned this part in the fifth century before Christ by the Greeks, who made the hero into a huge, good-natured, boisterous glutton, a character which he bears even in the *Alcestis* of Euripides (438 B. C.), the theory that the Harlequin and, we may add, all the other clowns found in European drama are derived from the Hindu *Vidusaka* must be summarily rejected.

Let us now consider how far the evidence produced by Dr. Pischel substantiates his thesis of the origin of the Hindu drama. (1) There can be no doubt that girls in India, as in most other countries, used 'babies' or dolls at a very early date; (2) there is also evidence that some time, we know not how long, before the tenth century of our era, mechanical toys had been invented by the Hindus and were popular with the wealthy. (3) But the existence of such mechanical

[1] Serrurier, pp. 95–6, 106–12; Hazen, pp. 7–9.

[2] Hazen, pp. 23–4, 39–57, cited by Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

FIG. 21. Ravana's interview with Angada, son of the Monkey-king Bali, when he was sent as envoy to the Demon-king's court. (*From a picture of a performance.*)

contrivances by no means leads eventually to puppet-shows and the drama. Thus, though the ancient Egyptians had some such inventions for representing Osiris (or, perhaps, rather Men), they never evolved the true drama at all, nor is it even known that they had puppet-plays. (4) It is clear from the *Iliad*[1] that such toys were already known in Homeric Greece many centuries before the earliest Indian evidence, for we are told that when Hephaestus came limping from his smithy to welcome Thetis, 'there were handmaids of gold that moved to help their lord, the semblances of living maids. In them is understanding at their hearts, in them are voice and strength, and they have skill of the immortal gods.' But though we have here clever automata, more marvellous than the toys of Hindu story, centuries elapsed before the full drama was evolved, and still longer before puppet-players were allowed to give their exhibitions on the Attic stage, whilst on the other hand there is clear evidence that dramatic performances of some kind were given at Sicyon by at least 600 B.C. (5) Again, the simile from the *Mahabharata* in which men are compared to puppets as having no will of their own, seems to refer merely to mechanical toys, such as those mentioned in the *Kathakosa*, as Dr. Pischel himself explains them, and which may also be the true explanation of the puppets introduced by Rajasekhara in his *Balaramayana*. But even if this really refers to a puppet-play, it must be borne in mind that Plato had made the same comparison in the fourth century before Christ. (6) Thus there is really no crucial evidence for the existence of puppet-plays in India before the tenth century after Christ, that is many centuries after the rise of the full Sanskrit drama, and at least one thousand years later than Patanjali, in whose *Mahabhashya* there are allusions to dramatic performances of the exploits of Krishna as set forth in the *Mahabharata*.

So much, then, for the Indian evidence. Let us turn to that of Europe. We have already seen (p. 158) that in the fore-part of the fourth century before Christ puppet-shows were popular in Greece, the earliest puppet-showman of whom we hear being a Sicilian, whilst both Plato[2] and pseudo-Aristotle[3] employ similes derived from such performances. Of their popularity in Italy there can be no doubt, for in the last century of the Roman Republic Horace[4] uses them also as a simile :

> Nempe
> Tu, mihi qui imperitas, alii seruis miser atque
> Duceris ut neruis alienis mobile lignum.

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[1] xviii. 419 *sqq*.
[2] *Legg*. 644 E.
[3] *De Mundo* vi. 398[b] 16.
[4] *Sat*. II. vii. 80–2.

From that time down to our day Sicily, Italy, and Europe in general have never been without the puppet-show, as can be established by passages in Roman and later writers.[1] One of the most remarkable is that still flourishing at Palermo in Sicily, its early home.[2] My friend Mr. Eustace Tillyard, Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, has in the present year not only attended on my behalf the entertainment given by one Greco and his sons and daughters (Figs. 22, 23), but taken for me the photographs here reproduced. There is no endless iteration of the same performance as in *Punch and Judy*, for there is a complete cycle for a year. But let not this rouse false hopes in any vegetationist breast of seasonal performances of Winter, Spring, Summer, and Autumn. The cycle begins with the conversion of Constantine the Great and continues into the Middle Ages. Naturally Charlemagne and his paladins figure largely in it, especially Roland, whose puppet is shown in both our illustrations. It is hardly necessary to argue for the historical character of the founder of Constantinople or of Charles the Great. This Sicilian puppet-play thus forms in the West a sort of counterpart to the *Ramayana* in the East. But as a Syracusan was exhibiting puppet-plays in Greece some fourteen centuries before there is any real evidence for their use in India, we are led to the conclusion that if there has been borrowing, India rather than Europe has been the borrower.

In face of these facts we must reject Dr. Pischel's ingenious theory that not only the Hindu but other dramas arose out of the Hindu puppet-play and its derivative the shadow-play, whilst we shall find later that neither in India nor in the various countries to which they have passed have these puppet performances been used to dramatize the struggle between Winter and Summer, nor are their exhibitions in any wise connected with the vegetation ceremonies.

If, on investigation, it should turn out that not only in earlier times, but down to our own day, recitations and dramatic performances of plays founded upon episodes in the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* are still closely connected with great religious festivals, and that furthermore there is indubitable evidence that it is still the practice to honour with dramas, or with prayers before dramas, personages who were undoubtedly human beings, sometimes these plays being held in shrines erected in honour of an historical king, we shall have gone far to prove that in India, as in ancient Greece,

[1] Persius, v. 129 ; Appuleius, *De Mundo*, c. 27. The reference given by Lewis and Short, s.v. *pupulus*, to Arnob. vii. 215 does not refer to a puppet, but to little figures offered to gods.

[2] H. Festing Jones, *Castellinaria and other Sicilian Diversions*, pp. 54 *sqq.*

FIG. 22. Palermo Puppet-show : the puppet is Roland.

Fig. 23. Palermo Puppet-players.

such celebrations arose first in honour of the noble dead, and were only later extended to the cults of the great divinities, such as Vishnu.

Incidentally, we shall have demonstrated the inaccuracy of Dr. Pischel's assertion that the puppet-show is the only form of drama known at the present day to the masses of India, and we shall have added a further proof of the untenability of his thesis that the Indian drama arose out of the puppet-play.

It will be seen that not only in many parts of Hindustan are there dramatic representations of the exploits of Rama and Krishna taken from or based on the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, but also in honour of the monkey-king, Hanumat, as well as in honour of Vishnu himself; that these are regularly performed by Brahmans upon solemn occasions and in sacred places; whilst we shall also find abundant proof for the enactment of dramas in honour of famous kings and other historical personages, and those, too, on festival days or in temple precincts. If this should be demonstrated by the testimony here appended, we must inevitably be led to the conclusion that the Hindu drama did not arise merely in the worship of the god Krishna, as is assumed by Professor Macdonell and others, but arose in the far wider principle—the honouring of noble and famous men and women, into which category Krishna himself undoubtedly falls.

We have seen above that Rama and Krishna are the two great heroes of Hindu mythology, the former being the theme of the *Ramayana*, the older of the two great epics, whilst the Pandava princes, headed by their kinsman Krishna, form the subject of the epic nucleus of the *Mahabharata*. We also saw that the *Ramayana* probably originated in Eastern, the *Mahabharata* in Western India.

In the following pages are embodied the results of inquiries made for me by my old friend, Sir J. H. Marshall, K.C.I.E., Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India. The replies to his queries here set out have been furnished in all cases save one by the learned native officials of the Archaeological Survey Department, who naturally have a familiarity with primitive dramatic performances still surviving, very difficult for any European to obtain. To these gentlemen, as well as to Sir J. H. Marshall, I wish here to offer my heartiest thanks, especially to Rai Bahadur Pandit Radha Krishna, Director of the Archaeological Museum, Muttra (the ancient Mathura), who, in addition to the very important information here appended, has taken great trouble in procuring for me a large set of photographs from life or from native paintings, from a selection of which most of the illustrations in this section have been reproduced. In a letter dated April 12, 1913, he writes: 'On the Indian New Year's Day

coming off usually in the end of March, or early in April, some portions of *Ramayana* were recited, and leaves of the nim-tree and sugar-candy pieces distributed in the temples, and the Calendar called *Puttra* read to the people assembled. Offerings of *paisa*

FIG. 24. Krishna (with a flute) and Radhika. (*From a photograph of a performance, the actors being Rasdhari boys of the Mathura district.*)

(pice) were then made to the reader of the *Puttra*. These readers were either the Pandits, mostly astrologers, or the low caste Brahmans, called Bhadaras. In this part of the country, particularly at Muttra [Mathura] and Brindabund [Vrindavana],[1] performances

[1] *Vrindavana* was a wood in the district of Mathura, where Krishna passed his youth, under the name of Gopala, among the cowherds.

Fig. 25. Krishna, when living with the cowherds, flatters his sweetheart Radhika; on either side are seated Radhika's friends, the cow-maidens (Gopis); the cowherds (Gopalas) are also present; the musicians as usual are accompanying the singing. (*From a photograph of a performance.*)

FIG. 26. The opening scene in the performance of any *Ras Lila* by Rasdharis (Brahman actors). (*From a photograph of a group of actors belonging to a Ras party composed of Sanad Brahmans, commonly termed Sanoriagas in the Mathra district.*)

FIG. 27. A company (*Mandali*) of Rasdharis duly clad and attired to begin the performance of some *Ras Lila*. It represents all the actors, musicians, and attendants forming the troupe. (*From a photograph from life which my friend Pandit Radha Krishna had specially taken for me.*)

of plays from *Ramayana* or reading of *Ramayana* on the New Year's Day have been done away with some ten or fifteen years. In lieu of this, at some Baghichis, i.e. gardens, places of recreation resorted to by Brahmans, dancing-girls are invited and music and dancing beguile a few hours of those assembled at the Baghichis. A good deal of bhang-drinking which used to take place on New Year's Day at these Baghichis is slowly but secretly replaced by soda and whisky. In some temples Lord Krishna's *Ras Lila* performances are performed by Rasdhari companies belonging to the Sanadhya sect of Brahmans, earning their livelihood by giving dramatic performances of Lord Krishna's exploits.

'These Rasdharis live at or near Govardhan, and applaud in high terms the sanctity and magnificence of Svani Vallacharya and his descendants before commencing the *Ras Lila* plays. This Acharya was born in Akbar's time, and was the founder of the family of Gokul Gosains, described by Dr. Hunter in his *History of India*, and Mr. Growse in the Mathura memoirs [for Mathura, cf. the letter from Nagpur, which refers to the Brahmans of Mathura as training their boys to act the *Ramayana*, &c.]. The Ghutsthapana ceremony, in which a pitcher full of water is placed and covered with a cocoa-nut, is also performed, and commences from the Indian New Year's Day. It is being done in connexion with this season Durga Pooja in this part of the country.'[1]

Rai Bahadur Pandit Radha Krishna proceeds: 'On the Ramnomi coming off on the 24th day of the First month of the Samvat era Lord Ramchandra's birthday is usually observed in this (Mathura) and other places of sanctity, and certain portions of *Ramayana* are sung and read in temples dedicated to Vishnu. On the 30th day of the First month the monkey-general Handman (i.e. Hanimat, Hanuman, or Hanumat) is celebrated, and his exploits and deeds mentioned in *Ramayana* are occasionally seen performed

[1] 'Durga, commonly termed Devi, or Maha-devi, the Great Goddess, wife of Siva, and daughter of Himavat, i.e. the Himalaya mountains. As the *sakti*, or female energy of Siva, she has two characters, one mild, the other fierce, and it is under the latter that she is especially worshipped. In her terrible form she is Durga, the "Inaccessible", Kali and Syama, the "Black", and the like. It is to her in this character that blood-sacrifices are offered, that the barbarities of the Durga-Puja and Charak-Puja are perpetrated, and that the indecent orgies of the Tantrikas are held to propitiate her favours and celebrate her powers. She has ten arms, and in most of her hands there are weapons. As Durga she is a beautiful yellow woman, riding on a tiger in a fierce and threatening attitude. As Kali she is represented with a black skin, a hideous and a terrible countenance dripping with blood, encircled with snakes, hung round with skulls and human heads' (Dowson).

FIG. 28. Krishna setting out for Mathura in a chariot with his brother Balram; his female devotees seek to dissuade him. (*From a photograph.*)

FIG. 29. A full *Ras Lila* company; Krishna and Radhika in the middle. (*From a native painting.*)

FIG. 30. A *Ras Lila* performance by Sanad Brahman boys. (*From a photograph of a performance.*)

dramatically in certain shrines dedicated to Handman here (Mathura). On the 29th day of the Second month of the Samvat era, the birthday

Fig. 31. Vishnu, as a Man-lion, slays Hirnakush (Hiranya-kasipu), to succour his devotee Prahlada. The attendant figures are Lakshmi, Brahma, Siva, Prahlada, and Narada. (*From a native painting.*)

of Narsingha (i. e. Man-lion incarnation of Vishnu), a representation of Lord Narsingha killing the demon king Hiranya-kasipu and his son Prahlada is dramatically performed in many streets here (Mathura) (Fig. 31).

'On the 25th day of the Third month, i. e. Jaistha of the Samvat era, at the time of the Ganga Dussehra (Tenth Day) ceremony the villagers who come to Mathura to bathe in the Jumna invariably dance, and sing in clusters (Fig. 32) the exploits of the comparatively modern Banapur hero, Indul. The theme is the carrying off of the handsome prince, i.e. Indul, son of the Banapur king, Oodul, when bathing in the Ganges at Bithur, near Cawnpore, on that day. It is said that one Chittaurrekha, a witch, was enamoured of Indul's beauty and carried him off quietly when bathing in the Ganges. So far as I recollect, these Banapur prince heroes played an important part in the history of Bundelkhand in the tenth or eleventh century A. D.

'The 26th day of the Fourth month of the Samvat era is observed as an auspicious day for making perambulation of the sacred Mathura city. *Chobey* Brahman wrestlers (Fig. 33) hold an assembly (*chopai*), and as the people pass they sing the following song :

" May Jamna help us," poet Maniklal Chaturbedi writes.
" May the Maharajas [1] of England ever be rendered happy by mother Jamna,
By whose favour we the four thousand brothers are ever so exultant.
(*Refrain repeated.*)

O Dampier Sarkar,[2] how auspicious and bright as the moon are the stars presiding over thy luck.[3]
You have succoured the devotee Prahlada by slaying Hirnakush [4] (Fig. 31).
You spring out from the pier by constantly breaking it to support thy devotee.[5]
You are omnipresent in earth, water and fire, oh ! so dear to me."

'The song goes on to refer to his Majesty the King-Emperor :

" May thy sway so benevolent be ever in perpetuity. (*Refrain repeated.*)

Among the Maharajahs you are Raghubansmani.[6]
In this ocean of universe you are Lake Mansarovar, you are the sunshine among the illustrious, you are the tree of Paradise.
Among the lovers of truth you are the great Harishchandra [7] and you are too strong for your enemies.
You are the great preserver of the Universe and supporter of the poor, O Lord.
O Great Emperor George the Fifth, thy glorious banner of piety is flying in the world. (*Refrain repeated.*)

The former kings [8] used to cut off the heads of images,
You our liege lord take care even of them.

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[1] English officers serving in India.

[2] All high officials in India are generally called Sarkars.

[3] The demon-prince helped by Vishnu, when persecuted by his father, the enemy of Vishnu and religion. [4] The father of Prahlada.

[5] Vishnu sprang out from a pier to succour Prahlada.

[6] The great Ramchandra, the incarnation of Vishnu the preserver.

[7] The greatest of the monarchs born in the Satyng age, remarkable for his truthfulness and liberality. [8] e. g. Aurungzeb.

FIG. 32. A circular dance. (*From a native painting.*)

The ancient religions are supported and the Vedic hymns are uttered :
In science, meditation and arts your people can well vie with the best of the Pandits ;
You are the source of comforts and happiness, O glorious Brajraj.[1]
(*Refrain repeated.*)

[1] The favourite and most important incarnation of Lord Vishnu—that is, Lord Krishna.

None such as you has ever existed, nor will there ever be one such :
You are supernatural and different from ordinary beings :
You are the most exalted in the Seven Islands, the Nine parts of the world !
You are the giver of the four great blessings [1] like Nandlal [2] ;
Says *Chobey* Maniklal how far the poetry should run." (*Refrain repeated.*)

'Villagers too are seen singing the glories of a royal couple, Dhola (p. 126), the prince of ancient Narwar of Central India, and Maro, a beautiful princess of the Meywar family (Fig. 34).

'In the Fifth month, during the swinging ceremonies (Fig. 35) performed here, the Vaishya women specially sing songs regarding Hero and Ranjha's mutual love. Hero was a princess and Ranjha was a prince of the Punjab. This is a very popular theme, and appears to me to be comparatively modern. I remember seeing some dramatic performances of their deeds in life, but I cannot say in what historical period they existed.

'In the end of the half of the Seventh month of the Samvat era many modern Hindu plays (Fig. 36), rather imaginary, are performed, and appear to have originated from the Mogul period. Quite modern heroes form the themes, and appear to me not at all connected with their history.

The songs sung are in many cases as late as 1850, or even 1860 A.D. The heroes are, as I said above, imaginary, and supposed to be connected with royalties of the late Mogul period.'

According to notes kindly furnished by Mr. Narain Mahadeva, Head Clerk, Office of the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, Poona, 'in the month of Chaitra, the first calendar month of the Hindus, there is annually a great festival called Ramanavaratra. It is in connexion with the birth of Rama, the seventh incarnation of Vishnu, the hero of the great epic *Ramayana*. It commences upon the first day of the bright half of that month and ends on the ninth day called Ramanavami, "the Birthday of Rama."' But as that day is observed as a fast-day, the last day is supposed to be the tenth on which the fast is broken. During the nights of these days the people of several villages perform by way of dramas several incidents of the *Ramayana*, the last scene being the killing by Rama of Ravana, the demon-king of Lanka (Ceylon) (Fig. 37). In the same way another great festival in connexion with the birth of Krishna, the eighth incarnation of Vishnu (in a limited sense the hero of the Bhagavata Purana), is performed in the dark half of the month of Sravana, the fifth calendar month of the Hindu year.

[1] Arth, Dharma, Kam, and Moksh ; i.e. object, religion, desire, salvation.
[2] Another name of Lord Krishna.

FIG. 33. A *chopai* (assembly) of *Chobey* Brahman Wrestlers singing, during the perambulation of Muttra city when people pass by their rendezvous, in praise of Vishnu, Rama, Krishna, and King George V. (*From a photograph.*)

FIG. 34. A *chopai* sings *rasvas* (amorous songs) in honour of Dhola and Maro during the perambulation called *Parikrima* of Muttra city. (*From a photograph.*)

FIG. 35. Charukh (swinging) ceremony performed by the people of Braj, Muttra district, at such festivals as the Teej Mela, held at the site of the ancient Bhootaishnar Mahadeva temple.[1] (*From a photograph.*)

[1] The women in the picture are of course professionals and not Vaishyas.

It commences on the first of the dark half of that month and is finished on the eighth, called by Hindus Janmashtami. The performance is called *Krishna Lila*, and in it are represented the various pranks which

Fig. 36. Scene from the very modern drama of Bin Badshali Zadi, in which all the actors are included. (*From a photograph of a performance.*)

Krishna is supposed to have played at Gokul, whither he was removed from Mathura (Muttra) soon after his birth at midnight of the eighth day of the dark half of Sravana. The most important of these

FIG. 37. The great battle in which Rama slays Ravana, the demon-king, and rescues Sita.

dramatic performances is the killing by Krishna of Kansa, the king of Mathura, cousin and arch-persecutor of that hero (Fig. 38).

Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, Poona, writes: 'In the Punjab there are performances of the *Rama Lila* in Punjabi. As regards the last I have the necessary information from a Punjabi friend. Whether the *Rama Lila* is performed on special festivals is not clear, but I believe it is so [see next letter]. The principal episodes in Rama's life are represented by boys personating Rama, his brothers, and Sita. Grown-up men appear in other characters of the *Ramayana*. The performance lasts from eight to ten days, one hour every day. There is no dialogue or monologue, acting or music; only the din of some noisy instruments accompanies the representation. The performance resembles to some extent the Passion plays of the Middle Ages in Europe' (M. P. Divatia).

Mr. H. Hargreaves, Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhist monuments, Northern Circle, Lahore (April 1, 1913), writes: 'I made inquiries in Lahore, but could learn little except that there is an amateur dramatic club called the Sri Ram Natak ['Lord Rama's Play'], which has been in existence for some years, and which gives plays based on the *Ramayana* during the Deserah [tenth day] holidays.'

Pandit Hirananda Sastri, Curator of the Lucknow Museum, North-West Provinces, thus writes: 'I beg to say that in the Punjab at least such performances are given. At present I can name three—excluding those connected with the scenes of the Epics or Puranas—where more modern and mundane heroes are the themes. They are Gopi Chand, Puran, and Hakikat. The last-named is too modern and belongs to the late Moghul period. The former two are connected with a period of early Hindu history. Gopi Chand is very often represented in frescoes also. Tradition connects him with Bhartrhari, and Puran with Salivahana. Both of these princes became *Yogins* [saints], and are believed to be Jivanmuktas [having found salvation during their earthly existence]. The fame of Gopi Chand has spread, I believe, throughout Northern India.'

In a later letter (dated August 12, 1913) Pandit Hirananda Sastri has most kindly supplied me with the following very valuable information respecting the three important personages named above, as well as with copies of the native publications on which his accounts are based.

Hakikat wa Rai was a true martyr. He was the son of Bagmalla *Khatri* (Skr. *Kshatriva*) of the Puri sub-caste, and a resident of

FIG. 38. Krishna and his brother Balram slaying King Kansa, their maternal uncle, King of Mathura.

FIG. 39. A *Ram Lila* scene in which Ravana's brother Kumbhkaran, the demon-king, fights with Rama and is slain. (*From a photograph of a performance of the scene.*)

FIG. 40. Rama drama, Cawnpore.

Sialkote. His mother's name was Kauran. At the age of seven he was sent to school under a Maulvi. When he was twelve, he was married to the daughter of Kirpal Singh, an *Upal Khatri* of Batala (in the district of Gurdaspur). After his marriage, while reading in the mosque, he happened to have a quarrel with his class fellows of the Moslem faith. The latter abused Bhavani (the goddess Durga, wife of Siva), which enraged him, and he in turn abused Fatima, the daughter of Muhammad. Thereupon the Muhammadans went to the Qazi and reported the matter to him. He at once pronounced a verdict of guilty and the penalty of death, according to the injunction of the Moslem scriptures. All the Qazis of Sialkote went to Amir Begh, the governor of the city, and asked him to kill the slanderer of the daughter of the Prophet. The governor, out of regard for the Hindu subjects, refused to deal with the matter, and asked the Qazis to go to the Suba of Lahore for justice.

They went to him and persuaded him to abide by the decision already pronounced. The Hindu councillors tried their best to dissuade the Qazis and the Suba, but their efforts were of no avail. The Moslem administrators of justice were inexorable. The result was that two alternatives were proposed by the Suba—either Hakikat must embrace Islam and have his daughter in marriage, or die. The undaunted lad preferred death, and was mercilessly butchered at Lahore. This event is said to have occurred when Muhammad Shah was ruling at Delhi in the year 1791 of the Vikrama era (A.D. 1734). It is said to have added largely to the dislike which men already had for the Mughal rule.

'Of these three heroes Gopi Chand is the greatest favourite. Hardly a festival occasion passes without the well-to-do people (of the old type) in Lahore and Amritsar especially getting some *kheuras* to give a musical performance and listening to the songs which extol Gopi Chand's virtues. These *kheuras* divide into two parties, each sitting on the tops of two different houses and there singing songs in turn by way of dialogue about midnight. Representations of Gopi are very often to be seen at the time of great festivals, such as Dasahra and Holi. Puran is rather a favourite theme among women. His *svangs*, or representations, are also to be seen on similar occasions. People cannot nowadays have a performance connected with Hakikat Rai, because the matter has assumed a political aspect. Till recently the play, when staged, would attract crowds of spectators.

'With regard to the dates at which these heroes lived, the period of Hakikat Rai alone is known definitely. It was about 1734, in the reign of Muhammad Shah, who was practically the last Mughal

FIG. 41. Scene in a Rama play; Ram Chandra and Lakshmana.

FIG. 42. Scene in a Rama play ; Ram Chandra and Lakshmana.

emperor of Delhi. Puran (or Puran Chand) is believed to have been the son of Raja Salvahn, who was probably identical with Salivahana, the reputed founder of the Saka era. If we rely on this tradition, Puran's date will be the first century A.D.

'Gopi Chand's date is not known to me. He is said to have been the nephew of Bhartari, or Bhartrhari, who is supposed to be the younger brother of Vikramaditya.

'The story of Hakikat Rai has been turned into a regular play and staged as such. But the accounts of Gopi Chand and Puran are mostly known in dialogue forms only, in which they are represented not only in the Punjab, but in the United Provinces and Rajputana as well. The difference is that the latter are staged on modern lines. There are, of course, actors representing the personages connected with the story, each taking his turn in time, but they may not come and go with scenes or curtains or other contrivances.

'Gopi Chand is said to be a prince of Dhara. Tilak Chand was his father and Mainavacti his mother. Once upon a time, when Gopi Chand was in his teens, his mother happened to see him bathing with all the material befitting a raja around him. She looked at his well-developed and beautiful body, and was at once plunged into reverie, which brought tears into her eyes. As she was sitting in a window above the spot where Gopi Chand was bathing, her tears happened to fall on the body, and he at once looked up and saw his mother weeping. He went to her and inquired the cause of her grief. She said that she was thinking that even such a lovely body as his would be a prey to death, which devours all, high or low, ugly or beautiful. Why not, then, immortalize your person by becoming a *yogin*? Gopi Chand asked her to allow him to rule for some time, after which he will resort to *yoga*. She said, "No, now or never." Her philosophy prevailed, and Gopi Chand, regardless of his surroundings, wives, relations, and other things, went out in search of a *guru*. He found him in a cave somewhere near Jalandihar. Bhartari (Skr. Bhartrhari), his maternal uncle, introduced his nephew to his own *guru*, who initiated him into the mysteries of *yoga*, and made him his *chela*. After some time Gopi Chand had to go to his former relations. He called out at his palace for alms and was recognized. His wives came out with jewels, &c., and asked him to come in. He refused and addressed them as his mothers, to their great distress and embarrassment. He met his mother also, but all through he was not moved and remained firm and resolute. After this he went to his sister Champa Devi, who was married to a king of Bengal. As is usual with mendicants, he stood at the gate and asked for alms.

One of the maidservants, who happened to pass by, recognized him and reported it to her mistress. The bewildered sister at first did not believe her, but when she went out herself to see the *yogin* she was mortally afflicted to find her own brother begging alms of her, calling her "Mother". She could not bear the sight, and died of grief instantaneously. At this Gopi Chand was touched, but his *guru* brought him back to his senses. Thereafter he was again absorbed in his profound meditations, which the story says led him bodily to heaven and made him immortal.

'Puran Chand, generally called Puran, was the son of Salvahn (Skr. Salivahana), king of Sialkote in the Punjab, who is probably identical with the reputed founder of the Saka era. Ichhram was the name of his real mother, and Lunan[1] that of his stepmother, whom Salvahn married in his old age. At his very birth he was taken away from the sight of his father to avert the evil eye from some players and was brought up in a subterranean palace. After twelve years he was brought into the presence of the king, who was delighted to see him, endowed with brilliant parts, well versed in sciences and arts. He was ordered to attend the durbar every day and to have a free entrance to the State councils. He was exceptionally beautiful, and heartily liked by all. When he was old enough his father thought of getting him married. To this he strongly objected. The idea of marrying him was postponed, and Puran attended to State affairs to the great delight of his parents. One day the king ordered him to go to pay his respects to Lunan, his stepmother, who was anxious to see him. He obeyed and went to her apartments with filial love. Lunan was all alone at the time, and instead of returning motherly kindness, fell in love with him. She was enamoured of his beauty and made an immodest proposal, which Puran resisted and somehow managed to escape. Finding her passion not satisfied, she out of revenge falsely told the king that Puran had attempted to violate her chastity. Thereupon the enraged king ordered the executioners to kill Puran forthwith. The poor prince was taken to the jungle, where the headsmen out of pity cut off his hands and feet only, but spared his life and threw him into a well, which is still in existence near Sialkote. They took some of his garments drenched with blood to convince the king that his order had been carried out. After some time Guru Gorakhnath, the well-known *yogin*, with his disciples, came to the jungle, and taking the prince out, cured him and initiated him into the mysteries of *yoga*. Puran, on account of his

[1] Lunan was probably a *chabyali*, i.e. born in Chamba, a pretty hill state of the Punjab, though she is commonly called Chamyari, i.e. *chamar*, 'shoemaker'.

earnestness, sincerity, and other excellences, soon became the most beloved pupil of his preceptor. This roused the jealousy of his fellow disciples, who persuaded the *guru* to send Puran to a princess, Sundaran (the Beautiful), who was considered to be an embodiment of beauty, and had unnerved many a devotee before. Puran went to her and asked her to give alms, which she did. With his mind as undefiled and as pure as purity itself he returned to the *guru*, who asked him to go once more to the lady and fetch food for him. This time also he came out victorious. But Sundaran, who fell in love with him, followed him, thinking that she would move the *guru* and win him. Her entreaties won the favour of the *guru*, and he ordered Puran to go with her. Puran had to obey. Sundaran all the time was building castles in the air. Puran suspecting some mischief and thinking that he might be overcome by her wiles, managed to flee from her on some pretext. The unhappy princess went up to the top of her palace and remained gazing at Puran, not in the least suspecting the trick that he had played her. When she found that the object of her love had disappeared, she threw herself down and died of a broken heart. Puran went back to his *guru*, who was at first very much enraged at his being the cause of Sundaran's death, but on getting a full explanation he was highly pleased at his resolute suppression of carnal desires. He was asked to go to his parents and to live with them for some time. This he did, to the delight of his relatives and subjects, especially his mother, who had become blind on account of constant weeping over his loss, but had her sight restored when she met her dear son Puran Chand, the 'full moon' of her eyes. Thus, having consoled his relatives, he returned to his *guru* to continue his *yoga* practices.'

Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Poona, gives an account of the *Bhava*, or popular low drama of Gujerat, which seems to be the lineal descendant of an ancient primitive drama. 'It is coarse and obscene. The *Bhavai* is usually performed in open spaces in streets and such other public places as courtyards of temples and the like. No stage is required, no scenery, only a poor curtain, occasionally held by two men at each end; a few torches, and a chorus of two or three men helped by musical instruments of a crude nature, such as one or two brass trumpets, cymbals, and, in recent times, the all-pervading harmonium has sometimes obtruded itself. The simple surroundings and paraphernalia of the *Bhavai* will remind one of the similar circumstances of the Burmese drama. The performance in a *Bhavai* does not represent any concatenated plot or story at all, but consists of a series of unconnected individual personations of one,

or at the most two or three characters in each scene, either presenting some popular episode, or professional persons, e.g. an ill-matched married couple, the tailor, the Borah, and the like. It consequently consists of monologues or dialogues supported by the chorus reciting songs referring to the incidents represented, in singing which the actors also join. The outstanding feature of *Bhavai* is its obscenity. Rao Sah Sheb Mahipatran tried his utmost to improve the actors of *Bhavai*, who are called *Bhavaya*, in this matter, and to purge the performance of its indecency, but without success. This was some forty-five or fifty years ago. *Bhavai* has now gradually receded from the city into the remoter villages and is dying out rapidly.' Mr. Bhandarkar adds that 'in the case of two of the *Bhavai* the names of Akbar and Aurangzeb are mentioned, and in *Mohanarani* the heroine is the Princess Mohana of Ahmednagar, the well-known city in the Deccan.

'The *bhavaya*, or actors, belong to a caste known by the name of *Targala*, which is mentioned in a work composed between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries.'

Mr. Bhandarkar further states that 'in the Rasdharis' performance in Vrajabhasha (cf. p. 177), a performance which used to be frequent even in Gujerat over forty years ago, the actors came from the province about Mathura, belonged to the Valla-bhacharya's Vaishnava sect, and performed episodes from the life of Krishna; but I do not remember having seen any special histrionic skill in the actors. Even the Vidushaka [the clown] of the piece, viz. Lala Manasukha, the personal friend of Krishna, exhibited but ordinary powers. I am not sure but that these performances are held during particular festivals as well as on ordinary occasions.'

According to Mr. Bhandarkar, 'in Upper India there are performances of Ramacharita in Hindi. They are held during the Dassera festivals and last for several days. In them a gigantic Ravana appears and is killed by Rama (Fig. 37), but I am not positive about this, as my knowledge is entirely second-hand and hazy.'

According to a letter from Mr. K. B. Pathaka to Mr. Bhandarkar (Feb. 26, 1913), there is a Canarese play entitled *Kumara Ramanataka* ('The play of the Kumana Rama'). The young Rama is identified with the grandson of Ramadeva, the last Yadava king of Devagiri, by Mr. Kittel in his introduction to his edition of Nagavarma's Canarese Prosody. There is also a Svetambara Jaina work, in which Kamuda Chandra, a Digumpara Acharya from the Karnataka is represented as defeated in a disputation by the Svetambara Acharyas of Gujerat. This work belongs to the twelfth century.

FIG. 43. Actors dressed for a Krishna play.[1]

[1] This and Figs. 20, 40, 41, 42, and 44 are from photographs taken by the Rt. Rev. Dr. G. Westcott, Bishop of Lucknow, the right of reproduction having been acquired, with his permission, from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

FIG. 44. Actor dressed as Krishna.

Another correspondent of Mr. Bhandarkar (Feb. 16, 1913), writing from Suioh, Hyderabad, says that 'no modern Hindu plays are enacted at New Year festivals. Wandering parties from the North-West Provinces, called "Rasdharis", do come off and on, but no systematic and regular performances take place on the occasions inquired for. In Scindhi the drama in vernacular commenced only about the year 1894'.

The Rasdharis here mentioned as wandering from the North-West Provinces into Hyderabad are, of course, the same as those mentioned by Mr. Bhandarkar, of Poona, as formerly performing in Gujerat episodes from the life of Krishna, and who came from the province round Mathura and belonged to the Vishnuite sect of Vallabhacharya. We have already seen (p. 177) Rai Bahadur Pandit Radha Krishna's admirable account of these Brahman actors of Muttra.

Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, officer in charge of the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, writes that 'as a rule no festivals are religiously connected with any Hindu plays, but these latter are nevertheless staged on festival occasions when large numbers are expected to collect in *Melas* and patronize the playwrights. The unrefined villagers enjoy the street-drama enacted on open stages on such occasions as fervently as the townsfolk do in their well-equipped theatres. The themes are mostly found to be stories drawn from the *Ramayana*, or the *Mahabharata* (Figs. 24 *sqq.*). Of late new dramas have been written for the stage which are not connected with either epic; but these are not much in favour with the masses. Some of the classical dramas, too, the subjects of which have no bearing directly or indirectly upon the Epics, suffer the same fate. There are a few exceptions, however, to what has been stated above, and these are the lives of pious devotees, Sivaite or Vishnuvite. The people are very fond of these, the story of Ramadas (Gopana), of the Telugu country, or of Nanda, the pariah saint of Southern India, attracting crowds from all classes. As regards the connexion of Hindu plays with festivals forming a part as it were of the religious rites observed on those festive occasions, I have not much to say. The Rama-Navami or Rama-Navaratri, as it is sometimes called, comes off in the beginning of the year and is celebrated for nine continuous days and nights by those who are devotees of Rama; but the general festive day is the ninth of the bright half of Chaitra, on which the epic hero is supposed to have been born. Those who can afford to do so may institute the performance on a country stage (cf. Fig. 20) of Rama's life-story during the nine days following. The

same must be said of Krishna Janmashtami, or Gokulashtami, which falls somewhere in July or August of each year. In the Dasserah, which lasts for ten days, the royal classes usually observe the worship of Durga-Lakshmi and Sarasvati regularly for nine days, and on the tenth proceed out of the town to a Sami-tree, from which they formerly received the weapons (bow and arrow generally) in imitation, perhaps, of what the *Mahabharata* hero Arjuna did on the occasion of the Uttara-gograhana.

'There are instances in later times when scenes from the lives of living kings were enacted before them. The drama *Parajatamanjari*, printed on pp. 961–2 of *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. viii, was played at Dhar in the beginning of the thirteenth century in the presence of the Paranara king Arjunavarman. The rhetorical work *Prata-prudriya* embodies in one of its chapters a panegyric on the reigning king Prataparudra, who belonged to the end of the thirteenth century. In the eleventh century A.D. the great Chola king, Rajaraja I of Tanjore, built a beautiful Siva temple in his own name and instituted in it a dramatic troupe who had to enact regularly every year the drama called *Rajarajanatake*, which indeed, as its name indicates, must have been a story celebrating the heroic deeds of the great Chola emperor. The *Kathakali* of the Malabar district described in the district *Gazetteer* (vol. i, p. 146) fairly gives an idea of what a country drama is like. Of historical interest is the ballad of Desinga Raja (i.e. Tej Singh), which is very popular in the North Arcot and Anantapur districts, and is even now often represented on the stage. It is a story of the beginning of the eighteenth century of a contest between a Rajput chief of Gingee and the Nawab of Arcot, Sadat-Ullah-khan. Similar ballads sometimes staged are also common in other Telugu districts. I refer to the *Palnativari-Charita* described by Mr. Sewell in his lists of Madras Antiquities (vol. i, Appendix A).'

With reference to the Nagpur region, Pandit Hira Lal, Extra-Assistant Commissioner, Nagpur, states that there are no modern plays in these provinces. 'In important places the people are wont to perform *Rama Lila* at the Dasahra festival, which falls in the month of October. This *Rama Lila* is merely a parody of a drama in which the reader of the *Ramayana* (the prompter, so to speak) may himself say what is expected of Rama, Lakshmana, Sita, or any other persons [i.e. characters] taking part in the performance. Occasionally he may ask the *dramatis personae* to repeat after him the substance of Tulsidsa's *Ramayana*, purporting to be the speech expected of him. Sometimes only *Dhanushayajna*, or "Bow Sacrifice", depicting the marriage of Rama, is selected as

a special subject, and all the ceremonies are restricted to it. For *Rama Lila* or *Dhanushayajna* local players are selected. They are usually Brahmans, in view of the fact that Brahmans along with others have to bow down to them, because for the time being they are taken to be equivalent to gods. Of course if a Sudra were selected to represent Rama, nobody would bow down to him in spite of his representing a great being. Next to *Rama Lila* the people have what they call the *Krishna Lila*, and here there is a little more drama than in the former. The *dramatis personae* of the *Krishna Lila* are usually boys of Mathura Brahmans (p. 177), who train them up to speak and act. They generally come out on tour in the summer months and give entertainments, not on a particular festival, but on any day one may wish to see the *Rasa*, as it is called. In rural parts a sort of rude performance following the plan of *Krishna Lila* is sometimes performed and is known as Danddhar dance, taking its name from Danda, or sticks, which are used to keep time when dancing.

'In Hindu districts the tragic play of King Harishchandra, of which the author was the late Harishchandra of Benares, is much liked, but it is not connected with a festival. Similarly in the Maratha districts plays once connected with the chivalry of Sivaji are performed, but again they have not gained so much popularity as to be associated with any particular festival observed by the Hindus.

'In the matter of such luxuries as dramatic plays these provinces have been very backward, and it is only lately that the interest of the public has been aroused by the dramatic companies hailing chiefly from the Bombay side. In the Central Provinces proper there are very few places where theatres have been constructed, and it is only in Berar where a taste for it in some measure exists. Under the circumstances I am sorry that I am unable to furnish you with the information you want, but I trust that other provinces will be able to give you some interesting data which may be of use to you.'[1]

The young Brahman actors from Mathura who perform the *Krishna Lila* in the Central Provinces seem to be the same as the Rasdharis from Mathura, who formerly played the *Krishna Lila* in Guzerat, and still perform it in Hyderabad, and who, according to Mr. Bhandarkar, belong to the Vishnuite sect of Valla-bhacharya.

A statement prepared by the members of the Office of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle, Bankipur, contains the following information: 'The following are some of the modern Hindu plays based on incidents from the *Ramayana*, current on the Bengali stage at the present day. (1) Dasaratha's Hunting; (2)

[1] Letter dated Feb. 17, 1913.

Rama's Coronation; (3) Rama's Exile; (4) Abduction of Sita; (5) Meghnathbadha; (6) Ravanabadha (slaying of Ravana); (7) Lakshmana Barjana.

'The following are some of the plays which have more modern heroes for their theme: (1) Actions of Chaityanna, about the seventeenth century A.D.; (2) Life of Buddha (fifth century B.C.); (3) Sankaracharya, ninth century A.D.; (4) Bishwamitra (the famous sage); (5) Asoka, the great king who established Buddhism in the third century B.C.; (6) Chandra Gupta, grandfather of Asoka, known to the Greeks through Megasthenes as Sandracottos; (7) Vrithviraj, twelfth century A.D.; (8) Pratapaditya, sixteenth century A.D.; (9) Baji Rao, eighteenth century A.D.; (10) Chatrapati Sivaji, seventeenth century A.D.; (11) Sirajuddaullah, eighteenth century A.D.; (12) Mirkasim, eighteenth century A.D.; (13) Ranapratap, sixteenth century A.D.; (14) Sa Jehan, seventeenth century A.D.; (15) Raj Singha, seventeenth century A.D.; (16) Nurjahan, seventeenth century A.D.; (17) Ranivawani, eighteenth century A.D.'

Let us now sum up the evidence furnished by these valuable letters:

I. It is clear that the story of the hero Rama, his wife Sita, and his brothers, is the most popular theme at the present hour over wide regions of India—the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Western India, Canara, Rajputana, the United Provinces, Nagpur, Bengal—whilst, as we shall see presently, this king enjoys a wide fame in Java, Burma, Malaysia, Cambodia, and Siam.

II. There is irrefragable proof that reading or reciting of episodes from the *Ramayana* or plays founded upon such, form an important part of the New Year festival, since 'in the month Chaitra, the first of the Hindu year, there is annually a great festival called Ramanavaratra, which is in connexion with the birth of Rama. It begins on the first and is practically finished on the ninth day, the birthday of the hero called Ramanavani, but as that day is a fast-day, the last day is the tenth, for on it the fast is broken'. Several of the letters describe the connexion of the Rama performances with the Dassara, or tenth day. But as the New Year's Day falls irregularly, sometimes in October, sometimes in April or May, Rama cannot be regarded as a Sun god, nor yet as a Spring Vegetation Spirit.

III. Nor is Rama the sole personage from the *Ramayana* who has dramatic performances in his honour on set days and in temples. At Muttra itself, where there is a great festival in honour of Rama and dramatic performances in his honour in Vishnu temples, on the 30th day of the first month the monkey-general Hanumat, men-

tioned in the *Ramayana*, is commemorated, and his exploits are occasionally performed dramatically in certain shrines dedicated to him.

IV. It is also beyond doubt that plays founded upon the *Mahabharata* and the exploits of Krishna, the leader of the Pandavas in their great struggle against the Koravas, are performed at Muttra, the birthplace of that hero, as a part of religious celebrations; that no one but Brahmans are allowed to personate the heroes or gods, and that, as in mediaeval Europe, the players of miracles and mysteries began to give their performances apart from religious ceremonies in or at churches; and as Thespis is represented as the first strolling player in Greece, so these Brahman Rasdharis began to travel far afield and give performances at any time or place where they could get an audience. It is no less certain that although Krishna is regarded as the eighth incarnation of Vishnu, it is his human and not his divine nature which renders him so popular. Thus, in the fifth month of the Hindu year there is the festival of the nativity of the human Krishna. This commences on the first day of the dark half of that month and is finished on the eighth, called by the Hindus Janmashtami. The performance is termed *Krishna Lila*, and in it are represented the various pranks which Krishna is supposed to have played at Gokul, whither he was removed from Mathura (Muttra) soon after his birth at midnight of the eighth day of the dark half of Sravani. The slaying by Krishna of his arch-persecutor is still the most important of these performances, which is the more interesting inasmuch as it is one of the two dramas referred to in the *Mahabhashya* of Patanjali before the Christian era. The futility of the attempts to make Krishna into a solar personage or a Winter or Vegetation Abstraction has been shown on earlier pages (140–6). Finally, the fact that Rama and Krishna are regarded as divine incarnations, just as Hassan and Hussein are held to be *Imams*, is a strong proof that they have always been regarded as human beings by the Hindus, and this is confirmed by the further fact that not only Goranga, a Bengali of the time of Akbar, but also King George V, are now held to be reincarnations of Krishna (p. 182).

V. In addition to the dramatic representations of the deeds of Rama and Krishna, there is evidence for performances of famous exploits of Vishnu himself—for instance, the slaying of Hiranyakasipu and his son Prahlada.

VI. The evidence indicates that, popular as are the deeds of Krishna, those of the older hero, Rama, are still more so, whilst it is no less evident that both the heroes are much more popular than the great god himself, who is supposed to be incarnated in them. In

other words, it is the human element and not the divine which renders these performances so popular. This is thoroughly confirmed by the facts contained in several of the letters. They prove that at the present moment many of the most popular plays, when not on Rama or Krishna themes, deal with undoubtedly human personages, many of whom are distinctly historical. Thus the lives of famous devotees, whose canonization Sir Alfred Lyall has described so well (p. 126), whether Sivaites or Vishnuites, are held in great favour, as instance the story of Ramadas (Gopana), of the Telugu country, and of Nanda, the pariah saint of Southern India, which attract crowds from all classes. The same holds true for the Punjab, where Gopi Chand, Puran, and Hakikat are very popular, the last of whom belonged to the Moghul period, whilst the two former are certainly also historical personages. Both were princes who became *yogins* (saints) and are believed to be Jivanmuktas (i.e. persons whose piety has gained them final release from further existence before death). As popular deification in India often arises out of mere pity for those who have suffered tragic fates, such as the boy-bridegroom Dhola, who died on his wedding-day, and his bride Maro; Indul, the Banapur prince, who was drowned in the Ganges as was supposed by the artifice of a witch enamoured of his beauty; and the royal pair, Hero and Ranjha—all historical personages, we thus obtain weighty evidence for our argument that Adonis and Attis were two real youths whose early and tragic deaths affected the minds of their contemporaries, just as the sorrows of the Hindus here cited have led to their apotheosis and celebrations with dance and song in modern Hindustan.

Again, in Bengal as well as the Krishna *yatras* of which we have already spoken (p. 157) there are various plays in vogue at the present time, four of which deal with personages who lived in the eighteenth century, e.g. Baji Rao, Mirkasim, Ranivawani, Sirajuddaullah; five to the seventeenth century, i.e. Actions of Chaityanna, Chatrapati Sivaji, Sa Jehan, Raj Singha, and Nurjahan; to the sixteenth century, Ranapratrap and Pratapaditya. Besides these there are Prithvaraj (thirteenth century), Sankaracharya (ninth century), Asoka, the great apostle of Buddhism (third century B.C.), Chandra Gupta (fourth century B.C.), the Gautama Buddha (fifth century B.C.), and Visvamitra of the *Rig-Veda*. Whilst it may well be that some of these are purely artistic and have no connexion with any festival or religious cult, it is clear that many of them are historical personages intimately bound up with Hindu religion and mythology, e.g. Buddha, Visvamitra, Chandra Gupta, and Asoka.

VII. There can be no doubt that the desire to honour men who in their lives were famous for their valour, sanctity, or sufferings, has been from the earliest times to the present hour the leading factor in the origin of the Hindu drama, whilst it is no less certain that great personages had a desire to be so held in remembrance. Thus in the eleventh century A.D. the great Chola king, Rajaraja I of Tanjore, built a beautiful Siva temple in his own name and instituted in it a dramatic troupe, who had to enact regularly every year a drama called *Rajaraja-nataka*, which, as its name (The Play of Rajaraja) indicates, must have celebrated his own exploits.

VIII. We have seen above that it is generally held that the Hindu drama, like the epic, had its origin in ballads composed in honour of the actual exploits of famous warriors. Thus in South Arcot and Anantapur the ballad of *Desinja Raja*, i.e. Tej Singee, is extremely popular at this hour, and is even now often represented on the stage. It is founded on a story of the beginning of the eighteenth century, and describes a contest between a Rajput chief and the Nawab of Arcot, Sadat-ullah-khan. Similar ballads also sometimes dramatized are common in other Telugu districts. This connexion between the Ballad, the Epic, and the Drama affords a close parallel to the History of Greek Tragedy.

IX. We have also seen that in the religious plays the actors were regularly Brahmans, because for the time being they are taken to be equivalent to gods. May it not have been in India, as we shall see to have been the case in Ceylon, Assam, Burma, China, and Japan, that the actor who personated the hero or heroine was really regarded as a medium in whom the spirit of the deceased temporarily resided?

X. We saw above the whole process by which a man of striking personality may be worshipped even in his lifetime, how frequently this takes place after the death of such an individual, how his tomb with his body within, buried and not burned, becomes a shrine, and how this shrine may grow into a splendid and wealthy temple, to which, on the hero's annual festival, vast crowds of pilgrims resort. The evidence furnished by the letters printed above demonstrates that dramatic performances relating to the life-history of such personages form part of the worship rendered to them at every stage that we have described. Thus (1) the Chola emperor Rajaraja built a temple nominally to the hero-god Siva, but in reality to himself, since he instituted in it a dramatic performance in his own honour to be performed by a troupe of actors maintained for the purpose; (2) next, there are the dramatic performances in honour of Gopi Chand, Puran, and Hakikat in the Punjab, and on such devotees as Nanda the

pariah, Ramadas, and numerous other saintly personages in the Telugu regions ; (3) then, spread over vast regions, the performances (extending, as we shall see, to Malaysia and Siam) in honour of Rama, the king of Ayodhya, which are regularly given at the Dassara festival in the beginning of the New Year, the performances in honour of the hero-god Krishna and his exploits being hardly less popular than those in honour of Rama, and (4) finally, dramatic representations in honour of the great god Vishnu, avatars of whom Rama and Krishna are held to be.

Thus dramatization of his exploits or sufferings, like dances, eulogies, paintings, and statues, is one of the regular methods of propitiating a man of outstanding personality, at every stage from his actual lifetime, after his death when now canonized as hero or saint, and finally when he may even have been promoted to the foremost rank of the great divinities.

XI. It is thus clear that the Hindu drama has not even yet thrown off its essentially religious character, that such it must have been in its origin, and that its themes from first to last are *human* personages, who in life made a deep and lasting impression upon their contemporaries.

XII. This is confirmed by the statements of several of the letters, that Hindu plays, classical as well as modern, which do not treat of real heroic or saintly personages excite but little interest in the Hindu masses, a fact of deep significance in view of the widespread popularity of the religious plays based on the deeds and sufferings of heroes and holy devotees.

XIII. These considerations point clearly to the conclusion that such performances were and are intended to propitiate the noble dead, a view completely confirmed by a line in the *Ramayana* itself that ' he who reads and repeats this holy life-giving *Ramayana* is liberated from all his sins and exalted with all his posterity to the highest heaven '. Thus there can be no doubt that the essential element in the dramatization of the episodes in the great epics is the keeping in remembrance of the hero, his exploits and his sufferings.

XIV. The reader will have observed that Dr. Pischel's statement that the masses of India know no form of drama save the puppet-play is absolutely at variance with fact, and that his theory of the origin of the drama in that kind of performance is equally untenable. It must also be borne in mind that the earliest reference to anything even resembling a puppet-play is in the *Ramayana*, and only dates back as far as the tenth century of our era.

It will be noticed that in those parts of India which we have been considering, the religious observances cannot be regarded as

anywise primitive, since Brahmanism and Buddhism have each in their turn greatly modified the ideas and consequently the practices of the aboriginal people. Yet, on the other hand, it is equally clear that the incoming religion may have absorbed into itself much that is primitive. Thus ten days of the feast of Rama may well belong to a different stratum of population and religion from that of the Aryans who brought in the worship of Indra and the other Vedic deities.

If it should turn out that there are primitive peoples, not only in Ceylon but in what is now reckoned as Bengal, who to this hour have remained free from the influences of both Hinduism and Buddhism, if we should find the beginnings of dramatic performances amongst them, and if it should happen that these are closely connected with the dead, we shall have gone far to substantiate the view that in its origin the Hindu drama is bound up with the veneration for and reverence of the departed.

The Veddas. In my *Origin of Tragedy*[1] I was enabled through the kindness of Professor and Mrs. Seligmann[2] to give an account of the dramatic performances of one of the most primitive races still surviving, the Veddas of Ceylon. For our present purpose it will suffice to state in the briefest terms the character of their rude dramatic dances. The Veddas who still remain in the wild state are very few in number, live practically by hunting, and scarcely till the ground except for growing yams. Obviously success in the chase and a plentiful supply of yams are the chief objects of their hopes and fears. In order to secure these ends they have ceremonies in which they invoke the aid of the spirits of departed members of their race, renowned in their day for success in hunting and yam-growing. Such an honoured spirit is termed a *Yaka*, and the most prominent of these is Kande Yaka, who was a mighty hunter. Accordingly, when it is desired to slay a deer, they seek Kande Yaka's help by means of a primitive dramatic performance representing how he killed the deer. First comes an offering of food, then the dance begins, then the spirit of Kande Yaka is invoked by a Shaman, who repeats a charm to Kande Yaka, and the spirits are invited to take food. After repetitions of the invocation Kande Yaka's spirit at length is supposed to come and enter the Shaman, who, working himself up to a frenzied condition, goes through a dramatization of how Kande Yaka found the deer's slot, followed it up, and finally shot it with an arrow.

The Tangkuls. Mr. T. C. Hodson has, in his admirable book on

[1] pp. 102–4.

[2] The reader is referred for full information to Professor and Mrs. Seligmann's admirable book, *The Veddas* (1911), pp. 34, 131–3, &c.

The Nagas of Manipur [1], described the funeral ceremonies of some of the aboriginal communities in that area, both from his own observation and from that of Mr. Pettigrew, who has published an elaborate account of burial among the Tangkuls.[2] 'When the body is to be taken out of the house, one of the relations takes a pine torch from a house near by and descends into the grave (which is made before the house of the deceased). He twirls the torch round beseeching the ancestors of the dead to come and meet him on his way to Kazairam. The bier is then taken to the grave, all the relations gathering round with loud laments. The body, tied to a plank with all the gifts for the long journey, is lowered into the grave, the wife is allowed to enter and to remain there till the last moment. On the day after the burial, when the spirit is supposed to have had its interview with Kokto and has handed over the gifts to the ancestors, it is supposed to return, and the doors of the house are kept open for it by the family. The spirit is supposed to dwell there until its final disposal from the village at the great feast of the Kathi Kasham. Twice a day food is prepared for the spirit as for the rest of the family, placed on the plate of the deceased and set on his or her chair. After ten days or a month, the parents of a child, the wife of a husband, or vice versa, search the village for a person as like as possible in features and size to the deceased to be their representative at the ceremonies of the great feast. But the obsequies are not really completed until the spirits of the deceased have been laid to rest finally and for ever by a second rite, in which the community as a whole takes part. This rite is known to the Meitheis under the name Manglatha, or month belonging to the ghosts. It may be a form of ancestor-worship, although celebrated only on behalf of the recent dead. It seems that they exclude from its purview those who have died by violence, as their deaths involve the whole village in a *genna*. At Mao it is usual to have a village *genna* whenever any one dies, and perhaps as a consequence of this there is no such secondary funeral ceremony. This rite, which is held amongst the Tangkuls after the crops are gathered in, consists of two parts, the Wanyai Thing ceremony, and the Kathi Kasham ceremony.'

We need not here discuss the Wanyai Thing part of the ritual, as that has no immediate bearings on our special object, but it may be pointed out that it gets its name from 'a small structure called Wanyai, which is built outside the door of each deceased's house and

[1] p. 150.

[2] For the death-dances of the Khasis of Assam and their connexion with images of ancestors, see Lt.-Col. P. R. T. Gurdon's fine monograph (ed. 2, 1914) on that people (pp. 140–4).

shaped like a shield with a small platform in front, on which on the following day various articles are placed. The shield framework is covered with sheaves, arranged so that the birds cannot eat it. At the side is also placed a large *Giganteum*. All these articles are said to be for the departed spirit to show as a sign of the fruit of the earth received during the past year.

'The Kathi Kasham feast takes place about the end of January in each year. The first thing for each family to do is to procure their buffaloes, cows, pigs, and dogs. Beer is then prepared, and the headmen settle on the day for commencing the feast, which lasts for ten days. The first and second days are spent in preparations; on the third day the animals are killed; on the fourth, both men and women get in a good supply of wood, as the weather is cold. On this day also the representative of each dead person, termed Thilakapo, performs his first occupation by collecting Khanuima, a kind of broad plantain leaf used for the unleavened bread made on the next day. On the fifth this bread is made, and pigs and dogs are killed, cooked, and offered to Kameo, and then distributed among the mourners. Cloths are hung out on long poles outside houses in which there have been deaths. On the sixth the rice beer, now fermented, is drawn. The real excitement begins on the seventh, as friends and relations come in during the afternoon and at sunset; slices of pork are offered to Kameo by the *sherra*, and then placed on the Wanyai Thing, as also four pots of beer. Then comes the representative of the dead, richly dressed. On his arrival at the house he performs a dance outside and is then introduced to the seat of the dead. 'From this point, until the end of the feast, he is looked upon as the dead person in life, and just as we would treat a friend or relation going on a long journey with no prospect of seeing them again, so is this Thilakapo[1] looked upon by the family and treated accordingly. He is presented with all the food cooked, and as the head of the house for the time being, he dispenses hospitality. The cloths are taken down to be given to the Thilakapo later on. On the eighth day there is the buying and selling of cloths brought by villagers, whilst the representatives of the dead likewise give a specimen of their dancing powers in a large space called Laingapha kayang, situated in the middle of the village. They are, of course, decked up for the occasion. Offerings are again made to Kameo. The Thilakapos go round from house to house, are fed by the female relations of the dead, and are presented with the cloths taken in on the previous night, so that by the time each has finished visiting he has a goodly pile, and he takes

[1] Cf. the young men in the Kachin Death Dance, p. 392, fig. 92.

the first opportunity to sell all that he does not want. On the ninth day, the great day of the feast, there are huge torches to be used at sunset, and a further dish of rice and pig's meat is prepared and placed on large plates with salt and fish and brought on the compound. Next is a great gathering of friends and relations with each Thilakapo. They meet at the lowest point of the village where a death has occurred, each one carrying his or her load of meat, ginger, rice, beer, and the cloths already given to the representatives. These are placed on mats, empty plates and pots are placed in a row and then filled up; everybody is dressed up, especially the representatives. When all is ready, some old priest gives a shout, and at this every one takes hold of the plates, &c., and holding them above their heads take all to the Thilakapos' houses. They there receive guests, as friends and relations, who wish to say farewell, as they are now on the point of departing for ever. The Thilakapo gives his first gift to the head of the deceased's house, who receives a cloth from the Thilakapo; then come the widows of the village, who are given food, meat, and beer by the Thilakapo; next come the female relations who entertained them the day before, and they also receive a present of meat and beer before the final parting. It is now sunset. A procession is formed, headed by the torch-bearers, who have the leaves gathered that morning round their heads and shoulders to keep off the sparks from the torches. Behind march a crowd of elders dressed in war garb; behind them the Thilakapos, the representatives of the dead, follow with relations crowding round them, and with much lamentation and grief. The procession passes slowly towards Zaiphar, a spot at the north end of the village overshadowed by a large tree. To this spot the torch-bearers wend their way. The spirits need to be led in the twilight to show them the way to their final place of abode, Kazairam. The representatives are at once denuded of their finery, the head-gear being broken on the spot, and as far as these individuals are concerned, their work is over. All the villagers return to their homes, the Wanyai Things are pulled down, and the poles over the new graves pulled up and thrown away. The spirits, after entering the torches, are declared to wend their way during the evening towards the hills on the north, and finally disappear to cross the river in Kazairam. On that side of the river they are believed to carry on an existence similar to that enjoyed or otherwise, when alive on earth.

'The tenth day is one of repose. It is believed that the disembodied spirits in Kazairam cut off all their hair and have a sort of wash and brush-up to remove all connected with mother earth. On this day,

therefore, none of the living is supposed to bathe or to touch water.' Hodson[1] states that in December, 1900, he himself saw a similar ceremony at the Quoireng village, Lamta, and noted the events of the day as they passed before his eyes. The young bachelors and the youths from twelve to fifteen assumed their best attire and paraded outside the village ; most of them smeared their legs with white earth and made a criss-cross pattern on them. A few wore a head-dress like a saint. The lads all carried spears, and as they entered the lower gate they commenced to sing. Then the women began to wail and lament. Every woman lit two torches over the grave in front of their houses and the procession passed ; they poured water from a bamboo chunga over one torch, and threw the other away into the jungle, and the empty chunga was thrown on the grave. The women then joined the procession and accompanied it to the other gate. They stayed inside, and the lads then finished their performance outside. They formed up into two lines, one inside, and the other in the opposite direction, singing all the while, and then gathered to the centre, and all sang together to complete this part of the ceremony. Then they indulged in sports, the long jump being the first event. All jumped one after another in rapid succession, and the village champions tried their skill. After that they put the stone and set the younger lads to wrestle. By this it was near sunset, and they re-entered the village. No woman could leave the village till the following sunrise.

No Latin scholar can read this description of the *Thilakapo* without recalling the funeral of a noble Roman. Even down to Imperial times such a *mimus* or mummer formed part of the funeral procession, and his function was to imitate the gestures of him who lay dead upon the bier. Besides the mummer there was a train of men wearing the *imagines* or portrait-masks of the ancestors of the deceased. These masks were usually kept in one of the *alae* that flanked the *atrium* in the house of a wealthy Roman. There can be no doubt that these masked men represented the spirits of his ancestors who had come to bring their descendant home. Any doubt on this question will be presently set at rest by examples from many lands of dramatic performances in which the masked dancers or pantomimists represent the spirits of the dead (pp. 273, 322–3, 344, 352, 358–60, 362, 395).

To return to Assam, Mr. Hodson[2] at Uilong saw two stone 'circles', one circular, the other oval.[3] The unmarried men dance and wrestle inside the large circle on the occasion of the village *genna*, the annual festival for the dead.

[1] *The Nagas of Manipur*, p. 157. [2] *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

[3] For a most admirable account of the stone menhirs, cromlechs, &c., of Assam, see Lt.-Col. Gurdon's *Khasis* (ed. 2, 1914), pp. 144 *sqq.*

These extracts shed some light on the origin, or at least one of the origins, of the drama, and it may even be on dramatic celebrations, such as those held in honour of Rama. In the first place, a primitive dramatic performance is the most important feature in an elaborate ritual for the dead. Moreover, there are not only dancing and dramatic personations, but also athletic contests, such as those which have played so striking a part in the funeral obsequies not only in ancient Greece, but in other parts of Europe. Finally, the annual ten days' celebration of the Tangkuls reminds us of the Dassara, or Ten Days' festival held in honour of Rama at the beginning of the Hindu New Year. These considerations corroborate the view that the Hindu drama, which beyond question is closely bound up in its origin with the worship of dead heroes, such as Rama and Krishna, arose out of primitive rites used to honour the dead, like those in use at this hour in parts of Assam.

V. JAVA

As Hinduism and Muhammadanism have each in their turn profoundly affected the life of the native Javanese, it is difficult to discover with certainty what is aboriginal and what is adventitious in their drama. But from the operatic character of the serious drama, and the great respect paid to certain solemn dances performed not by professionals, but by chiefs and nobles, or by the ladies of the court, we shall not be wrong in supposing that in Java, as in India, and, as we shall see, in Burma, China, and Japan, there were probably solemn or sacred dances [1] of a mimetic kind in which the performers wore masks, sometimes of animal forms, analogous to those which will meet us in New Guinea and other islands of the Indian Ocean.

In his admirable book on Java, Raffles [2] has left us an excellent account of all the forms of Javanese dramatic art, whilst his collection of masks and puppets used in these entertainments, some of which are figured in his work, are still preserved in the British Museum.

The dramatic entertainments are of two kinds: the *topeng*, wherein the characters are represented by men wearing masks (Fig. 45) except in performances before the sovereign,[3] and the *wayang*, in which they are represented by shadows.

Historical Drama. The subject of the *topeng* is invariably taken

[1] T. S. Raffles, *The History of Java* (London, 1817), vol. i, pp. 340 *sqq.*, with plate.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 335–40; see also Serrurier, *De Waiang poerwa*, pp. 171–2.

[3] According to others these unmasked performances were called *Wayang wong*; cf. L. H. Gray, 'The Dutangada of Subnata' (*Jour. American Oriental Soc.*, vol. xxxii, p. 62).

FIG. 45. Javanese historical dramatic masks (*topeng*) and Puppet (*klitik*). 1. Dewa Kasuma, king of Janggala; 2. Dewi Chandra Kirana, wife of Panji Kuda; 3. Kennoks Bentar, daughter of Dipate Sumajong; 4. Bajul Darat, a warrior of Prabjaka; 5. Rajamala, a friend of Prabjaka.[1]

[1] From a photograph of the originals in the British Museum, for which I am indebted to my friend, Mr. T. A. Joyce.

from the adventures of Panji, the favourite hero of Javan story, and there are distinctive masks (Fig. 45, Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5) for him and the other historical characters introduced. In the performances before the sovereign, where masks are not used, the several characters themselves rehearse their parts; but in general the Dalang or manager of the entertainment recites the speeches, while the performers have only to 'suit the action to the word', in other words, are merely living puppets. The music of the *gamelan* (the band) accompanies the piece and varies in expression according to the nature of the action or the kind of emotion to be excited. The actors are splendidly dressed after the ancient costume and perform their parts with grace, elegance, and precision; but the whole performance has more the character of a ballet than that of a regular dramatic exhibition either of the tragic or comic kind. Love and war are the constant themes, and the combats of contending chiefs generally close the scene. Those who perform before the sovereign and repeat their parts previously study their characters from written compositions expressly prepared for the purpose; but in other cases the Dalang, well versed in the principal incidents, descriptions, and speeches of the history, furnishes the dialogue between the actors extempore. A party of *topeng* generally consists of ten persons besides the Dalang, of whom four form the band and six perform the characters. They are engaged to play by the night for about ten rupees (twenty-five shillings) and a supper. Buffoonery is sometimes introduced to increase the zest of these entertainments with the multitude, but it does not interfere with the regular course of the performance, the actors being only disturbed occasionally by the action of an extraneous character who, whether representing a dog, a monkey, or an idiot, seldom fails to excite considerable mirth and not infrequently in the most interesting part of the performance.

'There is also a kind of pantomime or rather an assemblage of wild beasts called *Barung'an*; in this entertainment, men dressed up to represent various animals are made to appear in procession and combats. This is generally performed for the amusement of children, and is only accompanied by the beat of the *gong* and drum.' It is not impossible that this last-mentioned performance may be a survival of a class of primitive masked dances which we shall find to be very widespread in the islands of the Indian and Pacific Oceans, Africa, and North and South America.

Shadow- and Puppet-plays. 'In the *wayangs* or scenic shadows', wrote Raffles,[1] 'the subject of the performance is taken from

[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 336.

the earliest period of history and fable down to the destruction of the Hindu empire of Majapahit (A.D. 1473). These are distinguished, according to the periods of history which they represent, by the terms *wayang purwa*, *wayang gedog*, and *wayang klitik*. The different characters in the history are in these *wayangs* represented by figures about eighteen inches or two feet high, stamped or cut out of pieces of thick leather, generally of buffalo-hide, which are painted and gilt with great care and at considerable expense so as to form some supposed resemblance to the individual intended to be personified. The whole figure is, however, strangely distorted and grotesque, the nose in particular being unnaturally prominent. There is a tradition that the figures were first so distorted by the Susunan Moria, one of the early Muhammadan teachers, in order to render the preservation of the ancient amusements of the country compatible with obedience to the Sunni Muhammadan precepts, which forbid any exhibition or dramatic representation of the human form. "By these means," said the Susunan, "while the world in general will not imagine the figures to be human, the Javans from recollecting their history will yet be able to comprehend the characters they are intended to represent and enjoy in secret their national amusements. Or if in time they should forget the originals and confound them with the distorted resemblance, they will be impressed with the idea that it was only after conversion to the faith of the Prophet that their ancestors assumed the present shape of man." But the comparatively recent alteration in the figures is rendered doubtful from the circumstance of similar figures being found on many of the more ancient coins, thus affording grounds for an opinion that they existed nearly in their present form before the introduction of Muhammadanism. Their antiquity is further confirmed by the existence of similar figures in the Hindu island of Bali, where, though not so much distorted, they are still far from natural.

'These figures are fastened upon a horn spike and have a piece of thin horn hanging from each hand, by means of which the arms, which are jointed at the elbow and shoulder, can be moved at the discretion of the manager (Figs. 46–7). A white cloth or curtain is then drawn tight over an oblong frame ten or twelve feet long and five feet high, and being placed in front of the spectators is rendered transparent by means of a hanging lamp behind it. The several figures are made in turn to appear and act their parts. Previous to the commencement of this performance, the Dalang, who is seated behind the curtain, arranges the different characters on each side

of the curtain, by sticking them into a long plantain stem which is laid along the bottom. The band then strikes up, and as the several characters present themselves, extracts of the history are repeated, and the dialogue is carried on, generally at the discretion and by the invention of the Dalang. Without this personage nothing can be done; for he not only puts the puppets in motion, but repeats their parts, interspersing them with detached verses from the romance illustrative of the story and descriptive of the qualities of the different heroes. He is the soul which directs and animates the whole order and machinery of the piece, regulating the time of the music with a small hammer which he holds in his hand, while he recites the speeches suited to the occasion.'

1. In the *wayang purwa*, or *wayang* of the most ancient times, the subject is taken from the earliest periods of fabulous history, down to the reign of Parikesit inclusive, grandson of the great hero Arjuna from whom the princes of Java claimed their descent. This is the reign of the gods and heroes of the Hindu and Javanese mythology, 'who in these representations (Figs. 46–7) are exhibited with the attributes and in the situations with which their names are connected in the most popular poems and romances. The themes are generally taken from the *Ramayana*, the poem of Mintaraga containing the penance of Arjuna (Fig. 46) on the mountain Indra, and the celebrated epic of the *Bratayudha*, founded, like the *Mahabharata*, on the war of the Pandava princes. These poems are all written in what are termed the high measures, and are accompanied in their recital by the *gamelan salendro* or full band. In the performance of this *wayang* the Dalang first recites a few verses in the Kawi language, chanting afterwards an interpretation of the passage in Javan for the use of the unlearned. As the several characters are brought forward, he himself supplies the minor dialogue between the *dramatis personae*, keeping in general close to the original story when there is any one present who could detect his deviations: if he is performing before the ignorant, however, he frequently digresses from the main story, in any way which he thinks may most readily amuse the audience. In the course of the entertainment all the varieties of ancient weapons named in these poems are represented behind the transparent curtain. The interest excited by such spectacles, connected with national recollections, is almost inconceivable. The eager multitude will sit listening with rapturous delight and profound attention for whole nights to these rude dramas. By means of them the lower class have an opportunity of picking up a few Kawi terms and of becoming acquainted with the ancient legends of the country.

FIG. 46. Javanese shadow-puppet representing the Pandava prince Arjuna, one of the great heroes in the *Mahabharata*.[1]

[1] This and Fig. 47 are from specimens in the Royal Anthropological Museum, Leyden, and from photographs generously given me by the Director, Dr. Zuynholz.

2. The subject of the *wayang gedog* is taken from the period of history subsequent to Parikesit, commencing with the reign of Gandrayana, who comes fourth after Arjuna in the line of Indian princes who ruled at Hastinapura and Gujerat, and including the reign and adventures of the famous Panji, *circa* 1155 (who, as we saw above (p. 218), forms the chief theme of the regular drama), and that of his successor Lalean, until he removed the seat of government to Pajajaran (A. D. 1273). These poems being composed in a different measure, louder instruments provide the accompaniment; and although the history of the early part of this period is written in the Kawi, the dialogue always employed the Javan translation. The adventures of Panji compose the most popular portion of it. The characters are numerous and the figures in general more highly coloured and better finished than those of the *wayang purwa*. In bringing any hero on the stage the Dalang recites those verses of the history which relate to him, and introduces such dialogue as may give a dramatic effect to the exhibition together with such explanation as may make it intelligible to common capacities.

3. In the *wayang klitik* the figures exhibited are more properly puppets (Fig. 45, No. 3)[1] than shadows: they are of wood, about ten inches high, and are made to perform their parts without the intervention of a curtain. In these are represented that portion of the history commencing with the establishment of the western empire of Pajajaran and ending with the destruction of the eastern empire of Majapahit (A. D. 1473). Of this, by far the most favourite scenes are found in the popular story of the adventures between the Menak Jing'ga, a chief of Balambangan, and Damar Wulan (the light of the moon), on account of the Princess of Majapahit. We have already seen the importance of the Dalang or manager in the regular or historical drama, and their place in the puppet and shadow performances is not inferior. 'In many points', says Raffles, 'their office strongly resembles that of the ancient bards. The ceremony of giving his blessing to the first-born infant in the repetition of some particular passages of the ancient legends gives this part of his office a very peculiar interest.' According to some modern writers his name means a 'stroller' or 'strolling-player', whilst others have suggested that he was primarily a priest who rendered worship to the ghosts represented by the shadows cast by the puppets on the curtain in the *wayang*.[2] Though on the analogy of the Malay drama (p. 263), in which the head of the troupe of actors is always

[1] From one of the *klitik* puppets in the Raffles Collection, British Museum.

[2] Hazen, *op. cit.*, pp. 28–36 (cited by Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 63); cf. *supra*, p. 165 *n.*

FIG. 47. Javanese shadow-puppet representing Batari Durga, wife of Siva.

a priest or medicine-man,[1] it is not unlikely that the Dalang was originally a priest who carried out rites to the dead, there is not so much evidence that the shadows on the curtain were ever regarded as ghosts. 'The usual payment in puppet- or shadow-shows for the Dalang who owns a set of *wayangs* and brings his own musicians is from two to three dollars for the night; but the nobles and chiefs generally have sets of *wayangs* of their own, and keep a Dalang in their service.

'4. Another simple though not very common form of dramatic representation is that termed *wayang beber*, in which the adventures of Menak Jing'ga and Damar Wulan are exhibited. These *wayang beber* are simply pictures on strong paper, which are unrolled in succession and explained by the Dalang.

'5. Another entertainment of a similar description, though not accompanied by the exhibition of figures, was invented in the time of the kingdom of Demak and is termed *trebang*. The story is taken from the Arabic account of Beginda Ambia, which being rendered into Javan, is repeated by the Dalang, who with a small drum before him, and accompanied by the music of the band, gives spirit to the different parts by beating time with his hand, and varying the strength of the sound or quickness of time according to the subject. These two latter are of comparatively modern invention and not much esteemed.

'It looks, however, as if in this entertainment the Dalang was playing the very ancient rôle of story-teller or rhapsode, though it is quite likely that the band of musicians was a late addition.'

As the most favourite themes of the true dramas and shadow-plays alike are the exploits of Panji, an actual king who reigned in the twelfth century of our era, there can be no doubt that in Java, as elsewhere, tragedy did not arise from any dramatization of Winter and Summer, of a Daemon of the Year or of a Corn spirit, but sprang from the veneration and commemoration of the illustrious dead.

The Shadow-Plays of Western Asia, Egypt, and North Africa. There seems little doubt that the shadow-plays, which are the sole dramatic performances amongst the Sunni Muhammadans of Arabia, Turkey, Syria, and North Africa, were borrowed from Java by the Arabs some time after they became acquainted with that island, still under its Hindu ruler when visited in 1345 by the famous Ibn Batuta of Tangier. Accordingly this will be the most appropriate place for a short description of these derivatives from the Javanese drama.

[1] W. Ridgeway, *Origin of Tragedy*, p. 100.

Karagoz. Throughout the wide regions above indicated, especially in the month of Ramadan and at shrine festivals, the shadow-play known as *Karagoz* [1] (termed *Karakusch* in Africa) is exceedingly popular. The performance is usually held in cafés, and begins at nightfall in a darkened room. The apparatus consists of a screen, in which is cut a square opening, covered with a thin sheet. Behind it are lighted olive-oil lamps and behind them sits the Hajaldshy or operator who corresponds to the Indian Sutradhara and the Javanese Dalang. The figures are made of camel or other leather (Fig. 48) rendered transparent, and thus the many colours with which they are painted as well as their shadows are thrown on to the screen, though sometimes they are merely of paste-board or paper. The operator presses them by means of the little sticks against the sheet. Each puppet comes up singing a song accompanied by kettle-drum and flute. The chief character, of course, is Karagoz ('Black Eye'), after whom the entire *genre* is named. Should any one imagine that this Karagoz play is a survival of a drama of summer or winter, he or she labours under a grievous misapprehension. As beneath the pall of the mythical Osiris lies the body of a dead man, so behind the leathern puppet of Karagoz stands the substantial figure of one who played a not unimportant rôle in history. He was Baha-ed-din Karakush, an intimate friend of the famous Saladin, the contemporary of Richard Cœur de Lion. The caliph gave Karakush an important post in Egypt. He owes the perpetuation of his name and fame to a bitter attack made on him in 1209–10 by one Ibn Mammati, who lampooned him in a work intituled *The Book of Emptyhead concerning the resolves of Karakush.* This caught such hold of the popular mind that the name of the victim has outlived by many centuries the political incident from which the work sprung.

The Karagoz of the shadow-plays is a stupid blundering simple-hearted person, who muddles everything that he takes in hand. His companion, Hadshejvat, represents the well-bred gentleman with pretensions to culture, who loves high-flown verbiage, and Persian and Arabic phrases, now and then reading from a Turkish classic in perverted style. Other chief characters are the fidgety, talkative Alty-Kulatch, and Deli Bekir who comes in towards the end of the piece and makes short work of Karagoz. But there are in addition a whole crowd of other *dramatis personae*—men, women and children. Those of special interest are the types of nationalities—

[1] Georg Jacob, *Karagöz-Komödien*, Heft I, 'Schejtan dolaby' (Berlin, Mayer & Müller, 1899), pp. v. *sqq.*, with authorities there cited. This work was brought to my notice by my old friend, Mr. F. W. Hasluck.

the Persian with his high lambskin hat; the Lase from Trebizond, who brought hazel-nuts from Constantinople; the invincible wood-cutter from Anatolia, with his axe over his shoulder; the Arnaut with fustinella and highly ornamented weapons; the haggling Jew, the Armenian, the Greek, and the Arab. Each is made to speak his own dialect, except the Persian, who, since his own tongue would not be understood by the audience, talks Adherbeidshanish. In Tunis the shadow-play is naturally adapted to its African environment; the Berber replaces the Arnaut, and like him carries arms; there are also the Negro, the Maltese, and the Dancing-girl. In other regions other types are similarly introduced. Types other than national also appear; for example, the Opium-smoker, who continually goes to sleep and snores loudly. The song sung by each figure as it appears has no reference to the plot but only to the individual figure described. Turkish dialect is in song, Jewish and Armenian in prose, whilst the Arab sings or hums. There are printed as well as manuscript versions of the play in Arabic, Turkish, and Armenian. But there is really no fixed text, since the Hajaldshy recites from memory and can vary it as he likes. Accordingly in the printed copies the recensions often differ as in the case of the Indian shadow-plays. The performance starts with a prologue usually delivered by Hadshejvat, in which he shows that it is not merely a shadow-play but that it mirrors faithfully the world and teaches much. The action proceeds quite regularly: Karagoz and Hadshejvat meet; the latter talks in his fine phrases, which Karagoz takes up wrongly. It transpires that neither has a penny, and accordingly they resolve to start in business. Karagoz conceives the brilliant idea of storing up in bags cold in winter and heat in summer and of retailing the former in summer and the latter in winter, whilst he also suggests an exceedingly appropriate, but disgusting calling for his friend, who flies into a rage and calls him names. Finally, they go into partnership, but the trade varies in different versions: in one they both become boatmen, in another Karagoz becomes a schoolmaster and a street-corner scribe, whilst his friend touts for customers; in another they win a prize of ten gold pieces in a poetic contest in a café; in another Karagoz becomes an ice-seller and puts salt in the ices; in another they form a company for curing madmen by incantations. But Karagoz always ruins his trade by some ludicrous act of stupidity. Sometimes there is a kind of separate piece, in which are brought on all the callings of the East, but as a rule these personages are introduced as customers of the honest but stupid Karagoz, whom they ruin by

FIG. 48. Turkish Karagoz Shadow-Play Puppets.[1]

[1] From a set of twenty-five kindly lent me by my old friend, Mr. R. M. Dawkins, who procured them in Constantinople in 1914.

their swindling. Sometimes Karagoz has no trade, but misconducts himself at ladies' baths or near a spirit-tree. All sorts of irrelevancies are introduced, as in the *Kasperle-Theater* (' Little Kasper '), which in South Germany corresponds to our *Punch and Judy*. Those who see in such a vegetation or seasonal drama should be warned by the historical origin of *Karagoz*.

VI. BURMA

The Nagas of Manipur, whose rude dramatic performances we have viewed above, are held by all competent ethnologists to be closely related to the population of Burma, more especially the Mons, as is proved by their language.

Sir R. C. Temple and others have demonstrated that the whole population of Burma, not only the wild tribes, but the civilized Burmese, is essentially animistic, for although they are all professedly Buddhist, this is but the thinnest of veneers, for the whole daily life of the people depends on their ancient beliefs, and here, too, the doctrine of transmigration and rebirth is universal.

' Man ', says Temple,[1] ' is regarded as consisting of two component parts, body and soul. The soul is his *leppya*, or butterfly-spirit, called *la* by the Karens and *klo* by the Chins. This soul can leave the body in sleep or illness, and can be recaptured. At death the souls go to the world beneath the earth, where their judge, called Nga Thén by the Chins, sits, watched by his dog, under the Tree of Forgetfulness, where they forget all their past experiences and are unable to recall them on rebirth. The good are sent to a heaven, the wicked to a hell. The way to the nether world is by a ferry over a stream ; a toll has to be paid, and provisions are necessary. This is the almost universal animistic faith of the world. But its diametric opposition to the true philosophical Buddhist faith is of importance in the present inquiry. According to Buddhism there is no soul or *atma*, and ' when a person dies, his *karma* or deed-result, survives him, and serves as a nucleus of his next existence. But according to the indigenous faith of the Burmese people, the *leppya*, or butterfly-spirit, survives after death, and either lives on as a disembodied spirit in happiness or misery, or is again reincarnated to continue its course of existence in the flesh.'

We will first examine the beliefs and practices of the Chins, who may be taken as representative of the wild tribes of Upper Burma.

[1] *The Thirty-seven Nats, a phase of Spirit-Worship prevailing in Burma* (with full-page and other illustrations). London, Griggs, 1906, p. 9.

These have been well described by Rev. G. Whitehead [1]: The chief objects of worship among the Chins are (1) the Great Parent of all; (2) the spirits who live in earth and sky, who send rain or withhold it, who watch over the village, the rice-fields, the jungle, or some one tree or mountain; (3) the Penates, i.e. deceased forefathers, whom they fear rather than love, for while they dread their anger, they expect little in the way of blessing from them. The Chins do not worship any images, nor do they make carved representations of their objects of worship. The Great Parent is regarded as female, Mother Li. They do not think that she has any male counterpart. Sex does not enter into Li's essence. She reigns on her throne in the heavens, never old and never dying. She created of her spittle the earth, sky, and sea, and also all life, animal and vegetable. She created man and imparted all his blessings. All mankind are her children, and she loves them all. She is wholly good. She had parents herself, Yin-Aw and 'Kyen, who are now dead, and, like other departed spirits, much more apt to trouble the living than to assist them, so much so that the name Yin-Aw is sometimes used to denote in brief all the spirits (Mother Li alone excepted), and that in a very unfavourable sense. All laws and customs come from Mother Li. They offer a dog to the household spirits and rice-beer (kaung) to the spirits of the ancestors, but never to Mother Li. The Chins are divided into forty or more clans called *aso*, each clan having its common ancestry called *kun*. The *kuns* are often spoken of as male. There is also the *(n)zo-yai* ancestry, worshipped only by the women with an offering of dog's flesh. But of this, and of another tribal distinction called *ko*, little information can be got. The *(n)zo-yai* does not seem to be a female ancestry, but it is reckoned to be in the female line of natural birth. One may be adopted into a different *kun*, for the name is used of the clan as well as of the original ancestor and of his deceased descendants, male and female; but one's *(n)zo-yai* can never be changed.

The Chin clans are all exogamous, but after the marriage ceremonies are over the wife is initiated into her husband's clan and has her wrists wrapped round with cotton yarn as a witness to all evil spirits that she is under the Guardianship of the *kun* of her husband. So, too, all children, four or five days after birth, are in like manner admitted into the *kun*; and at the same time they have their ears bored. If a Chin die, leaving a widow with young children, some months after his death she will return to her parents or elder brother, and she will be re-admitted with the children also into her ancestral *kun*.

[1] 'Notes on the Chins of Burma,' *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxxvi (1907), pp. 20 *sqq*.

The children when grown up may be re-admitted into their father's *kun*. The widow, too, may marry again, and will again be admitted into her husband's *kun*. Certain sacrifices to the guardian *Nat*, the Burmese name for spirit, are performed by the Mendet and Talau clans alone. When they make these sacrifices, one person from each house partaking in the sacrifice brings a small measure of uncooked rice with a little cotton yarn on the top of it. A pig is sacrificed and the rice is cooked. A stand for the offering to the *Nat* is erected before the house where the worshippers assemble, and all the persons taking part in the sacrifice have their wrists wrapped round with the yarn. Then, after the Pasan Sayai (teacher or priest) has uttered the incantations and the *Nat* is satisfied and gives permission, they all fall to and feast. Every year each clan will have a special sacrifice to their deceased forefathers, and will offer them pork and rice and kaung (rice-beer). The *pasan sayai* invites the spirits to the feast, calling over their names, and if there have been any comparatively recent deaths, say within two or three years, in the clan, the spirits of these relatives are enrolled in the *kun*.[1]

The Chins have a custom of offering firstfruits to Mother Ceres, whom they call Po Klai. They say that if she gives them but one look, they will have plenty of rice, and they tell a somewhat gruesome story to explain the origin of the custom of offering firstfruits. 'Once upon a time a woman had a daughter. Before her death, as she lay a-dying, she said to her daughter, "After I am dead and cremated, I shall return wearing my intestines as a necklace. You must remain on the stairs. I shall come up by the back stairs and verandah. When I come you must throw some of the *kadu*-water (with which the corpse had been washed) over me. If you throw it, I shall become a human being again." Now when her mother came wearing her intestines as a necklace, the daughter was afraid, and durst not throw the *kadu*-water over her mother; so because she dared not, this woman could not become a human being again. Yet afterwards her mother showed her where the sweet cucumber and pumpkin seeds were (i.e. taught her how to grow the vegetables required for their curry), and giving her a command said: "My daughter, eat the firstfruits of the corn in its season." So to this day the Chins eat the firstfruits of their corn as a religious function. Before the men eat, they make offerings in their *yas* (corn or vegetable patches) for their deceased ancestry to eat.

'The Chins also propitiate the rain-fairy Plaung Saw with offerings of cattle, pigs, and chickens, and of course with rice and corn and

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 207.

kaung (beer). When this sacrifice is being made all the women must remain standing from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m. When the Chins have sown their corn they gather together in their fields and pray the earth to lend herself, i.e. her increase, to them once again. Otherwise, the crops will be poor and their children will have fever. As already stated, after the harvest is reaped they assemble in the fields to make to their ancestors and others an offering of the firstfruits, and then they can eat the new corn.' [1]

We have here evidence of the all-important part played by reverence for disembodied spirits amongst the wild tribes of Upper Burma, although we have no record as yet of dramatic impersonation of the dead as amongst the Nagas of Manipur, yet on the other hand we have apparently some sort of official *shaman* or medium in the *pasan sayai*, whilst amongst the Tangkuls of Manipur the *thilakapo*, who for a few days represents and is supposed to be the habitation of the spirit of the deceased, seems to be some sort of medium. We shall soon find that each of the thirty-seven official *Nats* of the Burmese is served by a medium who represents dramatically the *Nat* on the occasion of his or her festival. The platform erected amongst the Chins before the house on which offering is made to the *Nat*, recalls the *wanyai* built by the Tangkuls outside the house in which some person has died during the preceding year, and on which offerings are made at the ceremony for the dead.

Let us now pass on to the highly-civilized Burmese and their beliefs concerning the dead. Although, as pointed out by Captain Forbes, 'the Burmese differ essentially from the Hindus, in many ways, by having no caste system like that of India, all classes mixing freely and without restraint, free from all caste or priestly influence,' there is much that is common to both people in the lowest stratum of belief.

No better picture of the Burmese mind in matters of religion can be cited than that given in the following letter of an educated Burman to Sir R. C. Temple.[2]

'I have to state that Buddhism and Brahmanism have certain beliefs in common in consequence of stories handed down from father to son. The wild tribes which have not received the religion of Gaudama, i.e. Buddhism, are quite as strong in this primitive faith. Not only every human being, but also every conspicuous object and every article of utility has a guardian spirit. When people die, it is said that they become spiritual bodies requiring spiritual food, and in order that these spirits or *Nats* may not harm

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 208. [2] *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxix, p. 110.

the living, the latter make certain customary offerings to them. Some persons who have familiar spirits (i.e. family spirits) make annual offerings to the *Nats*, and before making offerings to them, a small bamboo or plank house is built in a grove or near a mountain, wax candles are lighted, and minor offerings are made. These festivals are generally performed in Upper Burma. When the ceremonies are over, a pot of water is poured out slowly on to the ground, while certain prayers are repeated. During the reign of King Anawrathazaw (the great conqueror and Buddhist reformer of the Pagan dynasty, who reigned A.D. 1010–53) the people in Pagan worshipped the *Nats* daily. They used to build a small bamboo structure called a Nat-house (Fig. 88) in front of their own houses and place offerings in it daily. Whenever the king saw these miserable little Nat-houses he used to order his officers to destroy them, and he had all the figures of the *Nats* collected into one place and tied together with chains.

'The figures of these *Nats* are still to be found in Pagan in a cave there. When the people came to learn about the order of the king directing the destruction of their Nat-houses, they obeyed it, but they hung up a coco-nut in their own houses to represent them and as an offering to the dispossessed *Nats*. The figures of the *Thirty-seven Nats* are still to be seen near the Ngyaung-u Pagoda at Pagan (in Upper Burma).'

In the little Nat-houses before the houses of the people of Pagan destroyed by the Buddhist king we recognize plainly the *wanyai* of the Tangkuls of Manipur and the stands erected for the offerings to the *Nats* before their houses by the Mendet and Talau clans of the Chins.

'The general idea of the Burmese', writes Sir R. C. Temple,[1] 'as to their purely animistic spirits has been well put by Taw Sein Ko, the chief living authority on all matters connected with the practical religion of the people. He says, *Tase* is the generic term applied to all disembodied spirits which existed as human beings. The *hninza* are spirits of children who assume the appearance of cats and dogs. The *thaye* and *thabet* are spirits of those who died violent deaths or of women who died in childbirth or of those who lived wicked and sinful lives. These spirits are inimical to mankind, and are represented in folklore stories as having hideous bodies as big as those of a giant and with huge long slimy tongues which they can make use of as the elephant moves his trunk. They are bloodthirsty, and their special delight is to cause the death of human beings. Female spirits who are in charge of treasure buried in the earth are

[1] *The Thirty-seven Nats*, 1906, p. 10.

called *oktazaung*. All these spirits, with the exception of the last, are believed to roam about the haunts of men at sunset in search of their prey and to be specially active in their peregrinations in times of an epidemic, as cholera or small-pox. They are therefore frightened off during epidemics by making a tremendous jarring noise, by beating anything that might come in one's way, as the walls and doors of houses, tin kettles, metal trays, cymbals, &c. These evil spirits are sometimes said to enter the bodies of alligators and tigers (p. 250), or to incite them to cause great destruction of human life.'

But very much more important to the Burmese are the *Nats*. The family spirit or house *Nat* of the Burmese is a true guardian spirit, and under his guardianship every child is ceremonially placed on the seventh day after birth, and he is always propitiated at marriages. Evidence is not wanting to show that he was originally an ancestor, for Taw Sein Ko tells us that ' in such of the households in Burma as are tenacious in the observance of the faith and practices of their forefathers, the charred bones of parents and grandparents are carefully preserved in cases of glass, and daily offerings of rice and other eatables are placed before them in the same manner as before the images of Buddha. At the time of the British occupation of Mandalay in 1885 a number of gold images representing the kings and chief queens of the Alompra dynasty were found in the palace together with a book of odes chanted whenever they were worshipped. This form of worship finds an exact counterpart in the Mongol worship as good deities of the *manes* of Chingiz Khan and his family '. So also ' in the houses of some Burmese families coco-nuts, with a fillet of white muslin or red cloth tied round them, are suspended by a cane support from a special post called the *yudaing*. The Burmans have forgotten the origin of *uvu*, but the word or its synonym, *Khun*, is still used in the Chin language to signify the guardian spirit of a family '. (Cf. p. 229.)

Such are the considerations that have caused it to be generally recognized by students of things Burmese that the local *Nat* or representative of the true animistic spirit—what Grant Allen in his *Evolution of the Idea of God* calls ' the unknown or generalized ghost '—really is a mere ghost rather than a heathen deity. His ubiquity is beyond doubt from the most secluded hill to the most populous civilized and socially lofty centre.[1]

There are stories of the action of disembodied spirits rendering particular patches of land uncultivable, inhabiting certain trees and the like. These are all disembodied human spirits.

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 10–11.

When a Burman starts on a journey (says Sir George Scott [1]) he hangs a bunch of plantains or a twig of the *thabya*-tree on the pole of the buffalo-cart or the stern of the boat to conciliate any spirit whose beat he might intrude upon. The fisher makes offerings in his *Nat-sin* (Spirits' Shrine) every time he launches his dug-out ; the lonely hunter in the forest deposits some rice and ties together a few leaves wherever he comes across some particularly large and imposing tree, lest there might be a *Thippin-saung* (a tree-haunting) *Nat* dwelling there. Should there be none, the tied-back twigs will at any rate stand in evidence to the *Taw-saung* (jungle-haunting) *Nat*, the demon that presides over all the forest. When there is a boat-race the opposing crews have a preliminary row over the course, with offerings placed on the prow for the *Nat* who guards that stretch of the river. Some *Nats* achieve fame and are known far and wide by special appellations. Such is Maungingyi, a spirit who is feared in all the districts round Rangoon and away eastward and northward as far as Pegu. He lives in the water and causes death. A special festival is celebrated in his honour, or rather in his deprecation, in the month of Wazo (July), in which ' Lent ' begins. Others more especially known in Upper Burma are Byindon, Shué Byingyi, and his brother, and a drunken *Nat* called Maung Mingyaw (cf. p. 251), to whom great quantities of rice-spirit are offered.

U Yingyiis is a spirit universally known among the Talaings. The chief spirit of a district usually goes by the name of Ashingyi, the Great Lord, or among the Talaings, *Okkaya*. Then there are generic names ; there is the *Hmin Nat*, who lives in the woods and shakes those he meets so that they go mad. There is the *U Paka*, who flies about in the clouds to spy out men to snap. There is the *Akathaso*, who lives in the tops of trees, *Yokkaso*, who lives in the trunk, and *Bunaso*, who is content with a dwelling in the roots. The presence of spirits or witches in trees may always be ascertained by the quivering and trembling of the leaves when all around is still.

The survival of Animism amongst modern European Christians is as persistent as among any other people or faith that may be mentioned, and in Burma we have the usual proofs of it, the poetic author of the *Soul of a People* supplying them.

Thus he writes : ' Some of the *Nats* live in the trees, especially in the huge fig-tree that shades half an acre without the village, or among the fern-like fronds of the tamarind, and you will often see beneath such a tree, raised upon poles or nestled in the branches, a little house built of bamboo and thatch, perhaps two feet square.

[1] Cited by Temple, *loc. cit.*

You will be told that this is the house (Fig. 88) of a *Tree-Nat*. Flowers will be offered, sometimes a little water or rice maybe, to the *Nat*. It is not safe to offend these *Nats*. Many of them are very powerful. There is a *Nat* of whom I know, whose home is in a great tree at the crossing of two roads, and he has a house there built for him and he is much feared. He is such a great *Nat* that it is necessary when you pass his house to dismount from your pony and walk to a respectful distance. If you haughtily ride past, trouble will befall you.'

These Nat-houses remind us of the miniature hut, with a diminutive ladder leading up to it, and food within, erected at the foot of each grave for the comfort of the soul of the dead person by the Besisi of the Malay Peninsula.[1] Such Soul-houses were also placed on or near the graves by the ancient Egyptians.

But it is not merely in trees or other such places that *Nats* have their dwellings. Rivers and streams also have their fair quota of inhabiters who are undoubtedly disembodied spirits.

Again, Taw Sein Ko tells us that after the harvest-time of each year, say about March or April, festivals in honour of *Nats* as well as of pagodas are held. The *Nat* festivals are exceedingly popular and are largely attended by the people. Those at Pagan, Amarapúra, Mandalay, and Lower Chindwin in Upper Burma, are ancient and recognized institutions, which used to be supported by the royal bounty of the Burmese kings. In Lower Burma, however, which is inhabited chiefly by people of the Talaing race, *Nat* festivals have in a large measure been replaced by pagoda festivals, because of the long subjection of the country to Burmese rule and because of the successful measures adopted by the Burmans for obliterating the nationality of the Talaings.

But there is not wanting good proof of the great part once played by the worship of *Nats* amongst the Talaings, and of the elaborate character of their shrines. Thus we learn from the eminent Burmese scholar, Taw Sein Ko,[2] that 'at Thaton, the ancient centre of Talaing civilization in Lower Burma, there is a temple dedicated to a *Nat* called P'o-p'o (Grandfather). The image of P'o-p'o represents an old man of about sixty years sitting cross-legged, with a white fillet on the head, and a moustache and pointed beard. The forehead is broad and the face bears an intelligent expression. The upper portion of the body is nude, and the lower is dressed in a check *paso*, or loin-

[1] W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden, *The Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, vol. ii, pp. 107–8.

[2] Sir R. C. Temple, *The Thirty-seven Nats of the Burmese*, pp. 10–11.

cloth of the zigzag pattern, so much prized by the people of Burma. The right hand rests on the right knee, and the left is in the act of counting the beads of a rosary. The height of the figure is about five feet. In the apartment on the left of P'o-p'o is an image representing a benign-looking *wun*, or governor in full official dress. Facing the second image in a separate apartment is the representation of a wild fierce-looking *bo*, or military officer in uniform. The fourth apartment on the left of the *bo* is dedicated to a female *Nat*, who is presumably the wife of P'o-p'o, but there is no image representing her. These images are most probably representations of a Burmese governor and his family, whose acts of justice, benevolence, and sympathy were long remembered by the people, and in whose honour these were erected as a mark of esteem, admiration, and reverence. The images are in a good state of preservation as they are in the custody of a medium, who gains a comfortable livelihood. An annual festival, which is largely attended, is held in their honour '.

We shall presently find close analogies to P'o-p'o and his family in the local gods of the Chinese, who are invariably deified local personages (p. 268).

At the end of Lent in October there is an illumination all along the Irrawaddy. As soon as it is dark the villagers row out into the middle of the stream and set adrift a multitude of little oil lamps, each fastened to a little float of bamboo or plantain stems. The lamps are simply little earthenware cups filled with oil, and each supplied with a small piece of cotton for a wick. Thousands of them are sent out by a single village. On the night of the full moon there is a constant succession of these shoals of twinkling lights floating down the whole length of the Irrawaddy from above Bhamo to China Bucheer (top to bottom of the Irrawaddy in Burma), every village sending its contingent. This ceremony is in honour of ' a universally honoured *phaya-nge*, a lesser divinity called Shin Upago, who lives down at the bottom of the river in a *kyi-pyathat*, or brazen spire, where he zealously keeps the sacred days. In a former existence he carried off the clothes of a bather, and for this mischievous pleasantry is condemned to remain in his present quarters till Arimadeya, the next Buddha, shall come. Then he will be set free, and entering the *Thenga sargha* (church) will become a *Yahanda* (*Arahanta*, saint), and attain Nirvana. He is a favourite subject for pictures, which represent him sitting under his brazen roof, or on the stump of a tree, eating out of an alms-bowl, which he carries in his arms. Sometimes he is depicted gazing sideways up to the skies, where he seeks a place that is not polluted by corpses. Such a spot is not to be found on

earth, where every stock and stone is but the receptacle of a departed spirit '.[1]

But whilst there are such myriads of *Nats*, some of whom are more than local, Thirty-seven of them tower above their fellows. These Thirty-seven are all the spirits of departed heroes and heroines except in one instance. This is *Thagya Nat*, who stands first in the official list. He is no other than Indra, one of whose names was Sakra, which in Burmese became Thagya. Furthermore, all the remaining thirty-six *Nats*, with one exception, purport to be the spirits of persons, either themselves royal or indirectly connected with royalty. The majority of them were alive between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries A.D., and some less than two hundred years ago. One of them was well known in life to the early Portuguese settlers, and is often mentioned in their accounts. ' Qualifications for admission into this authentic list are such as might be expected—great prominence, strong personality or striking performances during life, or one of the sudden, cruel, startling deaths or tragic terrifying fates only too common in Burman as in all Oriental history.'

Each of these thirty-seven *Nats* has his or her own cult, i.e. an appropriate ceremony or festival, and an appropriate place and time for performing it. According to so trustworthy an authority as Taw Sein Ko, ' as a rule images of *Nats* are uncouth objects, generally made of wood, with some sort of human countenance. Those of the thirty-seven rulers are being carefully preserved within the precincts of the Shwe zigon Pagoda at Pagan.' Yet the specimens figured by Sir R. C. Temple,[2] from his own splendid collection, are fine examples of indigenous art.

But by far the most important evidence for the cult of *Nats* is that recently published by Sir R. C. Temple.[3] This is a translation of a rare Burmese manuscript which he obtained in 1891 from Maung Kyaw Yan, a carver of Rangoon. It was written in 1820, but the work itself was compiled, according to the preface, in 1805 ' by the command of the Heir Apparent, Thirimahajeyyathu, afterwards Atwin Wun and Governor of Myawadi, bearing the title of Mingye Mahathihathu '. It contains an account of the thirty-seven *Nats*, treating of the manner in which ceremonies and festivals were held in their honour, the dress worn by the mediums at such festivals, and the music played on such occasions. The account was compiled in A.D. 1820, in the southern apartments of the Palace in consultation

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 26.

[2] *Op. cit.*, Plates i–xix.

[3] *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxxv (1906), pp. 217 *sqq.*

with the musician Nga Myat Thha and Nga Tarok, the head medium Kawidewagyaw, and many other experts conversant with the subject.

Next follows a complete list of the canonical thirty-seven *Nats*, which is followed by a detailed account of each.

Beside Indra, who heads the authentic lists, there are nineteen royalties, sixteen official or other personages, and one merchant. But for our present purpose the dramatic sides of the festival held in honour of the *Nats* has especial value.

I. According to a work called the *Mahagita Medanigyan*, *Thagya Nat* is the representative of the king of the Thagyas.[1] He lives on the summit of Myimmo-daung (Mount Meru). On festival days, in his honour, a large shed is erected, and in this it is proper to act various kinds of plays. While these are going on there enter the *Nat-ten*[2] or mediums, all dressed alike as men in ornamental bordered *pasos* or waist-cloths, broad-sleeved jackets, and white shawls thrown over their shoulders, with shells in the right hand and young sprigs of the *eugenia* (*thabye*) in the left. They step forward in a graceful fashion, and standing upright, chant the *Nat-than* as follows: 'I am the king of the worlds that are situated in the midst of the Four Islands and are surrounded by the Seven Encircling Seas and the Seven Ranges of Mountains (of the Buddhist cosmogony). The righteous and the pure in heart will I protect, and I will punish such as are ungodly and do evil. Therefore have I descended from a height of one hundred and sixty-eight thousand *vozanas* of twelve miles each to watch over the good and over the bad, and therefore do I pray that every one may avoid evil and cleave fast to that which is good.' Then the music strikes up and the ceremony concludes with the vigorous dancing of the *Nat*-inspired women. The supposed visit of Thagya Nat to earth from heaven at the Burmese New Year is known as the Water festival, which commences with the firing of cannon, and ends with a general dowsing of each other by the youthful members of the populace and throwing water on all they dare, including Europeans and strangers.

We have seen from the extracts cited above (pp. 234–5) that according to Burmese belief trees are very commonly the abode of *Nats*. It might be said that these *Nats* are simply vegetation spirits and are in no wise to be connected with the ghosts of departed human beings. But the facts recorded respecting *Nats II* and *III* in the official document must at once dispel any such idea.

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 71.

[2] They seem identical with the *Nat-Kadaws*, i.e. 'Nat Brides'; see Addendum A, p. 387, Figs. 89–91.

II. Mahagiri Nat (Fig. 49) is the spirit of Nga Tinde, son of Nga Tindaw, a blacksmith of Tagaung. Being apprehensive of his strength and valour, the king of Tagaung tried to arrest him. He baffled such attempts by hiding himself in the woods. The king resorted to a stratagem and made his sister Swemi a queen, with the title of Thirichanda, and made her inveigle her brother to the Palace. He was then captured, tied to a *saga*-tree in front of the palace and burned alive with the aid of a bellows. In the festival to this *Nat* the medium wears a *paso* (loin-cloth) and a jacket, both fringed with

Fig. 49. Mahagiri Nat.

a border of foreign manufacture, and a reddish-brown gilt hat. He holds a fan in his right hand and *thabye* in his left. He fans himself three times and chants an ode, in which he bewails his own fate and the treachery of the king. After this he throws down the fan and the sword on the ground and dances.

III. Hnamadaw Taung-gyishin Nat. She was the daughter of Nga Tandaw of Tagaung. When her brother was being burned alive, she asked the king's permission to pay her last respects to him. She then went where he was, and under the pretence of paying her respects jumped into the fire and thus met her death. The attendants only just succeeded in saving her head, over which were afterwards

performed the rites of cremation. After their death both brother and sister became *Nats* on the *saga*-tree. Such was their evil influence that every human being or animal that approached the tree died mysteriously, and eventually the evil became so intolerable that the tree itself was uprooted and thrown into the Irrawaddy. The tree was stranded at Pagan, where Thinligyaung was reigning as king. This happened in the fourth (? sixth) century A.D. The *Nats* apprised the king in a dream of their sorrowful plight and asked him to provide them with a home. In compliance with this request the stranded

FIG. 50. Hnamadaw Taung-gyishin Nat.

tree, of which only the trunk now remained, was taken to Popa Hill, which is of volcanic origin, and is the highest elevation in Burma. It was then divided into two parts, each being about $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet long. Human features were delineated on these pieces of wood with gold leaf, and these rude images were respectfully deposited in appropriate temples. Thenceforward the worship of these *Nats* became a popular institution recognized and sanctioned by royalty. Subsequently at the request of the *Nats* made through their *shamans*, King Thinligyaung had golden heads made to represent them, conferred the rank and insignia of a prince of the royal blood on Maung Tin De, and those of a princess on his sister, and made to them annual offerings regularly.

It is evident that since this worship was inaugurated, animal sacrifices and offerings of alcoholic spirits were made to these *Nats*, for Burmese history records that in December, 1555 A.D., the Hanthawadi Sinbyuyin (Bayin Naung), the Branginoco of the early European writers, reached Pagan in the course of his progress through the newly-conquered dominions, and witnessed the festival in honour of the Mahagiri Nat and his sister. Noticing that intoxicants and sacrifices of white buffaloes, white oxen, and white goats were being made to the *Nats*, he commanded that such practice should henceforth cease because it was opposed to the humanitarian doctrines of Buddhism, and because it would entail suffering in hell on those who witnessed it. In A. D. 1785 Bodaw paya, the great-great-grandfather of the last king of Burma, had new golden heads of the *Nats* made, and these were replaced in 1812 by the same king with larger and more finished heads of the same metal, weighing in the aggregate about two and a half pounds. These last heads are still in existence and are being worshipped by the people.

In this festival the medium wears a skirt fringed with a border of foreign manufacture, a long jacket, and a shawl embroidered with gold and silver. The shawl is worn over the head. She holds a cup of betel-leaves in the left hand and a water-jug with a lid in the right hand. She lays down the jug, after raising it three times, and then, holding *thabye* twigs in both hands, she dances and chants an ode, in which she recounts her old happy days and bewails her fate and that of her brother, and the treachery of the king.

The story of the hapless brother and sister, the supposed settlement of their disembodied spirits in the great *saga*-tree, their malice towards their persecutor, the consequent uprooting of the tree, its passage down the river and landing at Pagan, its division into two separate logs (which correspond so wonderfully to the Greek *Xoana*), set up by the pious prince, and finally the anthropomorphizing of them (as in the case of the famous *agalma* of Hera at Samos) into representations of the brother and the sister, must set at rest for ever the doctrine that tree-spirits, corn-spirits, and the like are in origin abstract generalities, which were later localized. No less fatal is this to the doctrines of Dieterich and his followers—Miss Harrison, Mr. F. M. Cornford, and Professor Murray—who hold that all cults of individual heroes are based upon the prior worship of the Daimon Eniautos, 'the Year spirit,' itself but an extension of the doctrine of the Vegetation or Corn spirit. With the fall of the Daimon Eniautos goes the theory of tragedy held by these writers, that it arose in a dramatic ritual in honour of the Daemon of the Year, and that it

was only later that into the setting thus provided, the lives of real persons who had suffered much in life, like the Burmese blacksmith and his loyal sister, had been fitted.

In the stories not only of these two *Nats*, but practically of all the remaining thirty-four, we shall find exactly the same principle—real human beings, who for certain reasons, similar to those which led to the worship of Heracles, Castor, Pollux, and countless minor heroes and heroines in Greece, were venerated after death, had festivals set up in their honour, in which a *dromenon*, or dramatic ritual, formed the chief feature, and in which a song or ode (corresponding closely to the Greek Dithyramb) was chanted by the Nat-ten, or the medium in whom the spirit of the dead dwelt for the time being, and through whose mouth the spirit told its melancholy tale.

Moreover, the presence of disembodied spirits in a tree near to or growing over the place where they suffered death or lay buried, can be paralleled from Greece. No better example need be cited than that embodied by Virgil in the *Aeneid*,[1] in the story of Polydorus, Priam's youngest son, murdered by Polymnestor, the Thracian king. All remember how the trees which grew on his grave bled when their branches were broken to kindle a fire, and how he himself spoke to Aeneas and told his own cruel fate. Moreover, in the story of Hyrnetho,[2] daughter of Temenus, the Dorian king of Argos, we seem to have a parallel to that of the Burmese queen. When she had been killed by her brother Phalces, her husband, Diphontes, 'took up her dead body and bore it to a spot which was afterwards called Hyrnethium. And he made a shrine for her and bestowed honours on her: in particular a rule was made that of the olives and all the trees that grew there no man might take home with him the broken boughs or use them for any purpose whatever, but they leave the branches where they lie because they are sacred to Hyrnetho.'

The same feeling prevails at this hour in many parts of Ireland, where even in winters of great severity and when fuel is scarce, no one will burn or use for any purpose trees or branches of trees which grow in a churchyard, not because of any veneration for the Vegetation spirit or the Daemon of the Year, but because it is believed that as these trees have grown out of graves they are permeated by the spirits of the dead.

Nat IV is that of a woman, by name Shwe Nabe, who died of a broken heart, when deserted by her husband. She is one of the very few of these *Nats* with whose story superhuman beings are connected. By one version she married a sea-serpent, and like Leda in the Greek

[1] iii. 49, 5. [2] Paus. ii. 28, 5–7.

tale she laid two eggs. In her festival 'the medium wears a skirt fringed with a border of foreign manufacture and also a jacket with a shawl of parti-coloured design. Her hair is loosened and divided, a portion falling on her back and another passing through the holes bored in her ears. She chants an ode and then dances with *thabye* twigs in her hands. In the ode she recounts the events of her past life and bewails her death and the condition in which she is, and expresses regret at the faithlessness of her husband'.

Nat V, Thonban Hla, was the youngest sister of the valiant blacksmith (Nat II). The details of her story are given at length. 'On her way to Tagaung to see her relatives she died suddenly in Tabedaukyit, a village west of Ava. Her daughter Shinnemi also died of grief at the same place. They became *Nats* and haunted the Popa hill together with their relatives.'

'In the festival to this *Nat* the medium dances with a *matalabi* skirt and *pannun* shawl. She then makes a change in her dress, wearing a skirt fringed with a border of Western manufacture and a spotted shawl embroidered with gold and silver. She afterwards makes a third change in her dress, wearing a scarlet silk skirt of the zigzag pattern embroidered with gold and silver. After having danced three times with the three changes of dress, a dish of cooked rice is first offered, followed successively by dishes of plantains, custard-apples, guavas, &c. The musicians must first play a Talaing air twice, and then a Burmese air. After dancing three times she chants an ode in which she recounts her own story and expresses sorrow at the death of her brother and elder sister and at her own fate.'

In the case of the brother and sister of this Nat we had a striking proof of the general Burmese doctrine that the spirits which dwell in trees are those of disembodied human souls and not mere abstractions, whilst in the case of the Irrawaddy itself we found that the object of the great festival was not a river Nature spirit, but the spirit of one who is supposed to have been once a man. In the present case we have a not inferior proof that holy mountains are not worshipped as the abode of some vague Nature abstraction, but because they are supposed to be the residence of a disembodied human spirit. We have already seen that the holy mountain near Teheran owes its sanctity to its being deemed the resting-place of Shahr-banu, the wife of Hussein, and that according to Burmese belief every tree, stock, and stone is a receptacle for departed spirits, whilst here we have the youngest sister of the valiant blacksmith dwelling on the Popa hill, the highest elevation in Burma, on which are set also the images of her brother and sister. When this paper was

read before the Academy, the President (Viscount Bryce) stated in support of the Nature spirit theory that he had seen a woman worshipping Kinchinjunga, which seen from Darjeeling is said to be one of the finest sights on earth. But an extract from a Buddhist writer,[1] given to me by my friend Mr. T. W. Rolleston, will convince the reader that such a mountain is adored not as a vague Nature spirit, but as the abode of Buddha, just as the Popa hill is that of the blacksmith's sister: 'From the place of our bivouac I saw to the north-west a great snow-clad mountain: it was the Kang Rinpoche of Tibet, the Mount Kailasa of the Hindu. Its ancient name was Kang Tise. As far as my knowledge goes, it is the most ideal of the snow-peaks of all the Himalayas. It inspired me with the profoundest feelings of pure reverence, and I looked up to it as a "natural mandala", the mansion of Buddha and Bodhisattvas. Filled with soul-stirring thoughts and fancies I addressed myself to this sacred pillar of nature, confessed my sins, and performed to it the obeisance of one hundred and eight bows. I also took out the manuscript of my "twenty-six desires", and pledged their accomplishment to the Buddha. I then considered myself the luckiest of men, who have been thus enabled to worship such a holy emblem of Buddha's power, and to vow such vows in its sacred presence.' We shall presently find in Peru indisputable evidence for our view.

VI. Taung-ngu-Shin Mingaung Nat. He was the son of Minyethin-gathu of Taung-ngu (Tonghoo) by a lesser queen, who was a native of Northern Kadu. He succeeded his father in the kingdom of Taung-ngu, which he ruled under the title of Kothan Thaken Bayin Mingaung. When taken ill from a disorder of the stomach he removed his residence temporarily to the Paunglaungriv River. There the smell of onions was so strong that he was compelled to return to the city, on reaching the walls of which he died. In making offerings of food to this *Nat* onions must be eschewed.

In the festival to this *Nat* the medium wears a *paso*, fringed with a border of foreign manufacture, a jacket with broad sleeves, and a gilt hat coloured white and brown with either a white or gold fillet. In his left hand he holds a sword by the handle, with the blade away from him, and in his right hand a fan. He first chants an ode in which he narrates his own story, and then walks about.

VII. Mrintaragyi Nat. He was known as Sinbyushin Mintara, and was the elder brother of King Mingaung I of Ava. He is said to have

[1] *Three Years in Tibet*, by a Japanese Buddhist pilgrim, Ekai Kawaguchi (Theosophical Publishing Society, 1909), pp. 136–7.

died of fever. In the festival to this *Nat* the medium wears the same dress as No. VI. He chants an ode narrating the story of his own life.

VIII. Thandawgan Nat. He was a secretary, by name Yebya, of Taung-ngu Bayin Mingaung. He died of malarial fever at Myedu, whither he was sent to repair the village, while collecting flowers in a jungle for the king in compliance with his master's wishes. Another legend says that he died of snake-bite while collecting jasmine-flowers at night from a jasmine-tree in the courtyard in compliance with the orders of the king, with whom he was holding a conversation. The medium wears the same dress as No. VI. Holding a sword and a fan in his hands, he chants an ode in which he recounts his own story, bewailing the fate he met with, whilst still a faithful servant of the king and enjoying the pleasures and honours conferred upon him. The music must play a Talaing tune.

IX. Shwe Nawrata was the son of Mahathihathu and grandson of King Ningaung II of Ava. During the reign of his paternal uncle, Shwe Nangyawshin, his servant, Nga Thauk-kya, rose in rebellion. In consequence he was captured by the king, while living with his mother, and afterwards thrown into a river. The story is also mentioned in the Burmese histories. In the festival to this *Nat* the medium wears a red *paso*, a red jacket, and a gold embroidered turban with a white shawl thrown round the neck. He holds a fan in the right hand and chants an ode. He then takes out a turban, or a piece of clean cloth, and twisting it into the form of a cradle, rocks to and fro three times. Lastly, he makes gestures, as if playing *gon-nyin* (polo). In the ode he traces his descent from the powerful kings and recounts the happy days of his life.

X. Aungzwamagyi was the minister of Prince Narapatisithu, brother of King Menyineyathenga. Weluwadi was the wife of Prince Neyabadisithu. Her beauty had so fascinated the king that he became enamoured of her and determined to make her his wife. In order to attain his object he gave out that a rebellion had broken out at Ngasaungchan, and sent his brother, Neyabadisithu, to quell it. During the absence of the husband he took Weluwadi to wife and made her his queen by force. Neyabadisithu divined the evil design of the king and left his faithful groom, Nga Pyi, to watch the trend of affairs during his absence. The pony Thudawti was left for the groom to ride to his master. Nga Pyi was, however, delayed on the road and was executed for tarrying on the way. Aungzwa, a confidential servant of Neyabadisithu, was then sent to encompass the ruin of the king, the reward being a queen from the harem. Aungzwa succeeded, but was subsequently executed for reproaching

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Neyabadisithu for failure to keep his promise. Aungzwa then became a *Nat*. In the festival to this *Nat* the medium wears a *paso* fringed with a border of foreign manufacture, a jacket with broad sleeves, and a gilt hat coloured red and white. On his left shoulder he carries a sword with *thabye* twigs in the form of a scroll on it, and in the right hand he bears a fan. He chants an ode, and putting down the sword and the fan he dances. In the ode he narrates his own story and bewails his fate, exhorting other servants of princes to refrain from showing disrespect to their masters.

XI. Ngazishin Nat was Kyawzwa, the governor of Pinle and son of Thihathu, the founder of Pinle. He obtained five white elephants from Pinle and inherited the kingdom from his brother Uzana, who abdicated the throne. He died of illness after a reign of nine years and became a *Nat*. In his festival the medium wears a court dress, holding a fan covered with one end of his *paso* in the left, and twigs of *thabye* in the right hand. As he recites an ode, in which he narrates his own story, he assumes the gestures of one riding on horseback.

XII. Aungbinle Sinbyushin Nat (Fig. 51) was son of King Mingaung I of Ava, and brother of King Kyawzwa, who died at Dalla. After the death of his father he reigned as king of Ava. While riding an elephant and superintending the ploughing of a plot of land, south of the Aungbinle Lake, he was treacherously murdered by the Sawbwa of Onbaung. He became a *Nat* under the name of Aungbinle Sinbyushin. In his festival the medium is dressed in high Court dress holding an elephant goad in the left hand, and a lasso, made of his white *paso*, together with *thabye* twigs, is held in the right hand. He chants an ode recounting his own life, tracing his descent from a powerful line of kings, and promising to all cultivators his supernatural assistance in securing them rich harvests ; and after exhorting them to strengthen the embankment of the lake, he holds the twigs of *thabye* in his right hand and mimics the sowing of seed in a field.

XIII and XIV. Taungmagyi and Myauk Minsinbyu Nats. By one account they were the sons of a sea-serpent, and Shwe Nabe, a native woman of Mindon. According to one legend they were the sons of Nga Tinde, afterwards Mahagiri Nat (No. II) by the sea-serpent Shwe Nabe. The mother laid two eggs in the Male woods. After the death of the parents the two eggs were picked up by a Rishi. From these two eggs were hatched the two brothers. On their death they were deified on the upper reaches of the river, each being represented with six hands. Another legend makes them the sons of a woodman by a sea-serpent, Shwe Nabe. She laid two eggs and

they were given to a hunter, who sent them floating down the river. The eggs lodged on a slab of stone and produced there two children. They were said to have been suckled by a deer, which they followed as their mother. Inquiries consequent upon an oracle predicting the coming of two strong men led to their being found and brought to King Duttabaung. Later on the king became suspicious of their loyalty, ordered them to hold a boxing-match, in which they fought so fiercely that they died, and they became *Nats*. In the festival of Taungmagyi the medium wears a *paso* fringed with a border of

Fig. 51. Aungbinle Sinbyushin Nat.

foreign manufacture, a close-fitting military jacket, ear-ornaments, a red turban, and a red hat. He holds a sword in his right hand and a bunch of *thabye* twigs in the left hand. He mimics the sharpening of his sword, and, after cutting the *thabye* twigs with it, he places it in his belt, and chants an ode in which he recounts the events of his life, dwelling on his accomplishments and feats, the cruelty of his mother, and the kindness of the rishi who suckled him and his brother with milk from his fingers, and bewailing the state he has attained. Myauk Minsinbyu Nat was the brother of the preceding. In the festival the medium wears a *paso* fringed with a border of foreign manufacture, a close-fitting military jacket, a black turban,

ear-ornaments, and black trousers. He holds a sword with both hands and chants an ode in which he claims descent from Nga Tindaw, his grandfather, Mahagiri, his father, and Ma Swemi, his aunt, and recounts the feats he performed while in the service of the king. After this he mimics the rowing of a boat, and then dances freely and wildly as a Shan.

XV. Shindaw Nat was a novice, admitted into the order of monks of the king of Ava, and entrusted to the care of the high priest of Kyauktalon Hngetpyittaung. He died of snake-bite and became

Fig. 52. Nyaung-Gyin Nat.

a *Nat*. In the festival the medium wears a yellow-dyed robe and dances with a fan in the right hand. In the ode he recounts his own life, extolling his accomplishments and bewailing his own fate.

XVI. Nyaung-Gyin Nat (Fig. 52) was one of the descendants of King Manuta of Thaton. He died of leprosy in Pagan during the reign of King Anawrata and became a *Nat*.

In the festival the medium is dressed like that of Myauk (No. XIV). He chants an ode and dances with his fingers closed to indicate that his hands are leprous. In the ode he claims descent from King Manuta of Thaton and recounts his own story. He bewails his fate as a man and *Nat*, and the loathsome disease with which he is afflicted. As a leper he abstains from all flesh that tends to aggravate

his condition, and in making offerings to him all flesh has to be eschewed. Even as a *Nat* his abode is in the hearth. Any one possessed by him itches all over the body. He is propitiated by offerings of rice-cakes placed on the hearth. In Burma he is as familiar as Mahagiri and others.

XVII. Tabin Shwedi Nat was the son of King Kyinyo, the founder of Taung-ngu (Tonghoo). While he was reigning in Hanthawadi he was advised by Thamain Sawdut to remove his capital in order to escape misfortune. He removed to a temporary residence, where he was treacherously murdered by one of his guards, the brother of Thamain Sawdut. In his festival the medium wears a *paso*, &c., a gold embroidered turban, and a gold embroidered scarf and a white shawl round the neck. He also wears a jacket and a gilt purple hat. Holding an unsheathed sword in the right hand, he chants an ode in which he recounts his own life. Lastly he thrusts the point of his sword into two bunches of plantain and lays them down, after lifting them up in the air.

XVIII. Minye Aungdin Nat was the son of King Anaukpet Thalung Mendaya and son-in-law of King Thalun Mindaya. He died of excessive drinking and became a *Nat*. He is dressed like No. XVII; he walks with a sword covered with a *paso* in one hand and chants an ode in which he bewails his own fate and exhorts others not to follow his example. After this he dances while playing on a harp.

XIX. Shwe Thate (Sitthin) Nat was a son of Sawmun of Pagan. He was sent by his father to suppress the rising of the Shans at Kyaingthin. On reaching Hlaingdet he proceeded no further, but amused himself with cockfighting. He was, in consequence, punished by his father for disobeying his orders by having his legs buried in the earth. He died of grief soon after in that position and became a *Nat*. In his festival the medium wears a scarlet *paso*, one end of which is thrown round his neck, a scarlet jacket, a gold embroidered turban, and a gilt purple hat, coloured red on the top. He takes off his turban, and laying it down on the ground he bows down three times and chants an ode in which he bewails the cruel fate he met with at his father's hands for disobedience to orders.

XX. Medaw Shwesaga Nat was the queen of Sawmun of Pagan, and mother of the governor of Hlaingdet. She died of grief at the terrible fate of her son and became a *Nat* at Hlaingdet along with her son. In her festival the medium wears a skirt, &c., a long jacket (court dress), a white shawl, and a white scarf on her head. Walking with a rosary in her hand she chants an ode in which she relates the story of her own life.

XXI. Maung Po Tu Nat (Fig. 53) was a native of Pinya, by profession a trader in tea. On his return from Thonze, Monek, Thibaw, Taungbaing, and other places, with which he was trading during the reign of King Mingaung I, he was killed by a tiger at the foot of a hill, near Ongyau and Lekkaung villages. On becoming a *Nat* he became friends with Shwezitthi Nat, the prince of Hlaingdet. They lived together and are generally known as Min Hnaba *Nats* (the two princes). His wife, Mi Hinine, a Shan, lived at Taungbaing. In this festival the medium wears a scarlet *paso*, with one end thrown round his neck, a scarlet jacket, and a scarlet turban. On his left

Fig. 53. Maung Po Tu Nat.

shoulder he carries a sword with a piece of cloth in the form of a bundle suspended from it. He holds twigs of *thabye* in the right hand and chants an ode, while mimicking the driving of oxen. Then he drinks water as a tiger. In the ode he recounts his own story, bewailing the cruel manner in which he met his death. According to this story he died on account of his refusal to listen to the words of his wife, who strongly urged him not to proceed on his journey. It is said that previous to his death he dreamed that his top-knot, tied up by his wife, and his right arm on which his wife used to rest her head, were cut off.

We have seen above (p. 233) the Burmese belief that certain

disembodied spirits enter the bodies of alligators and tigers and incite them to mischief. It seems as if the Tea-trader *Nat* from being eaten or killed by a tiger had somehow become merged into that animal, since his medium laps like a tiger. In New Guinea we shall find a very similar belief. Such facts as these, combined with the general doctrine of the transmigration of human souls found amongst Totemist races, seem to indicate that the belief in Totem animals, like that in Tree, River, and Mountain spirits, is merely secondary, springing out of the primary faith in the existence of human souls after the death of the body.

Fig. 54. Maung Minbyu Nat.

XXII. Yunbayin Nat was King Byathan of Zimme. When it was annexed in A.D. 1558, by Siobyumyashin of Hanthawadi, he was taken captive to Hanthawadi and kept there in honourable confinement. He died there of dysentery and became a *Nat*. The medium wears a *paso*, &c., a jacket, a white turban, and a purple hat, placing on the head a bundle of coco-nuts, plantains, betel-leaves, and tobacco tied in a scarf, so as to leave its corners free, and raising it thrice he chants an ode. He then twice mimics a cockfight, and holding a sugar-cane in each hand he strikes each with the other by turns, as in fencing. Then he fills his pipe with tobacco and mimics the rowing of a boat.

XXIII. Maung Minbyu Nat (Fig. 54) was the son of the King of Ava by the daughter of a jailer at Ava. He died of excessive indulgence in liquor and opium. In the festival to this *Nat* the medium wears a *paso*, &c., a white jacket, and a gold turban. Covering his head with a piece of white cloth, embroidered with silver threads, he recites an ode in which he bewails his own fate, repents his intemperance, and exhorts youths not to indulge in the same vice, which has worked his ruin in the end. He then plays on a flute, holding it in the left hand.

XXIV. Màndalê Bodaw Nat was the son of a Brahman who was a minister of King Anawrata of Pagan. By appointment of the king he was the guardian of the two Shwebyin in their youth. When the two brothers were executed he was also ordered to be executed as being their guardian, while encamping at Màndalê on their return from China. When the executioners came to arrest him, he made an attempt to escape by riding on a stone elephant, which he had animated with life by throwing a charmed string over it. But it was too late. He was seized, bound hand and foot, and executed in Màndalê (Mandalay), and became a *Nat*. Up till now a rock in the form of an elephant is still to be seen near Bodaw Nat's cave in Màndalê. His last words complained of injustice, and he is usually represented as holding up the tip of his forefinger. As he was called Apho (grandfather) by the two brothers, he is now called the Màndalê Bodaw. In his festival the medium is dressed in the same way as that of the Mahagiri Nat. Fanning himself thrice with a fan, he chants an ode. Then, laying down the fan and the sword, he dances.

XXV and XXVI. Shwebyin Naungaw and Shwebyin Nyindaw Nats were the sons of an Indian runner of Thaton in the service of Anawrata. The chief duty of this man was to supply the king with flowers from Mount Popa. On one occasion he met an ogress, whom he took to wife. By her he got two sons, whom he placed under the charge of the king. They had to serve the king under the name of the Brothers Shwebyin when the king marched to China to demand Buddha's tooth from the emperor. The tooth was obtained, and on his way back the king built a pagoda at Taungbyon, where they encamped. By royal mandate every man was enjoined to furnish one brick for erecting it. Presuming on the good services they had rendered to the king, they paid no heed to the royal command and spent their time in courting a girl of Taungbyon. When the appointed time had lapsed, they were too late to furnish the required bricks and were executed for disobedience of orders. On their death they became

Nats under the name of The Two Brother Nats. In their festival the medium wears a *paso*, &c., a jacket with broad sleeves, and a white and purple gilt head-dress. Holding sprigs of *thabye*, he takes three paces forward and chants an ode. Then he changes his jacket for a short one of velvet, his *paso* for a scarlet one, and his hat for one of felt, and dances. Placing the plantains offered to him on a three-legged tray, and arming himself with a sword in the right hand, he mimics the hunting of rabbits and rows a boat with his sword. In an ode chanted by the elder brother he narrates his own story, recounting the services he and his brother and their father (who was, according to the song, a *Ghalasi*, sailor) had rendered to the king. In the ode chanted by the younger brother he recounts the past good services they had rendered the king, mentioning the heroic exploit they performed in the palace of the Emperor of China, whither they marched to get Buddha's tooth. He dwells at some length on the meanness of the king in not making suitable offerings to them. After their death they revealed themselves to the king on his return on a raft by stopping the progress of it. At their request the king granted them Taungbyon and the surrounding suburbs as their home. (See Addenda, pp. 387 *sqq.*, Figs. 88–91.)

XXVII. Mintha Maung Shin Nat was the son of King Minyizaw of Pagan, who founded Kyaukthanbat and Putet. While a novice in the monastery he died of a fall from a swing and became a *Nat*. In his festival the medium is dressed in yellow robes as a priest. He first chants an ode in which he narrates his own story, and then dances, playing on a harp in his hand.

XXVIII. Tibyusaung Nat was the father of Anawrata of Pagan, and was deposed by his step-sons, Kyizo and Sokkade, and compelled to become a Buddhist priest. When his son Anawrata had wrested the crown from his half-brother Sokkade, the dignity and rank of a king was conferred on the old priest, who continued to reside in his monastery surrounded by his harem. On his death he was deified as a *Nat* under the name of Tibyusaung Nat. In one legend it is said that he resided in a monastery south of Para, in the village. In his festival the medium is dressed in yellow robes as a priest; he chants an ode in which he says he taught poetry in his monastery to all learners. Then, holding a fan in the right hand and an almsbowl in the left, he walks as if he were receiving alms.

XXIX. Tibyusaung Medaw Nat was apparently the queen of Tannet (the foregoing *Nat*), though the legends are silent on this point. In the festival the medium wears a skirt fringed with a border of foreign manufacture, a long court dress, a white shawl, and a scarf

embroidered with gold on the head. Holding a rosary she chants an ode. Then, holding a fan in the right hand, she walks to and fro.

XXX. Bayinma Shinmingaung Nat was known as King Kyizo, son of King Kyaungbyu. While chasing a deer in the Nyuttan woods of Chindwin, he was accidentally shot with an arrow by a hunter, the same fate as Krishna's. He died and became a *Nat*. In holding a festival in his honour the medium is armed with a bow and arrows. He is dressed in the same way as the medium of the Taung-ngu Mingaung Nat (No. VI). Aiming with his bow in all directions, he chants an ode and dances. In the ode he says that he was killed with an arrow shot from his own bow, which broke. He exhorts other hunters to examine their bows before using them lest they should meet with a similar fate.

XXXI. Min Sithu Nat was King Alaungsithu, the builder of the Shwegugyi pagoda in Pagan. He is also said to have been Sithu, Prince of Kukhan, and elder brother of King Kyawzwa. In his festival the medium is dressed as in No. VI. Holding up both his hands, as if in the act of worshipping, he holds a fan and a sword at the inner bend of the elbow. Then bowing three times he dances, and chants an ode in which he calls himself Alaungsithu and speaks of his voyage in search of Mount Meru. He adds that there were strange portents at his birth, which foretold the greatness of his power.

XXXII. Min Kyawzwa Nat. King Thenzi of Pagan had three sons : Sithu and Kyawzwa by the northern queen, and Shwelaung by the southern queen. In preference to the first two sons he desired the succession to devolve on the third, and banished the elder princes to Taungnyo Lema. As their strength and valour became more and more bruited abroad, he ordered them to change their residence. They went to Taung-ngu (Tonghoo), whence they returned after fighting the Karens. On reaching Kukhan, which they founded, they constructed a canal. As a proof of their work there are two villages which bear the names of Myaungdubauk and Myaungdu-ywa. Suspecting his brother's loyalty, Sithu put Kyawzwa to death on the pretext of having failed to conduct the flow of water in the canal. Kyawzwa then became a *Nat*, and in revenge possessed and killed his brother Sithu, who also became a *Nat*.

It is also said that Minyo Kyawzwa, the son of King Mingaung of Ava and Governor of Pakhan, also became a *Nat* in Pakhan, when he was killed at Dalla. In support of this belief in Pakhan there are still shown a monastery founded by him and a temple dedicated to him. Besides, in the month of Nayon (June) every year in honour of the *Nat*, lamps are lighted and cockfighting is held in the public

streets. Another legend says that Kyawzwa was the youngest brother of the four ministers of King Alaungsithu, who gave him in marriage to one Bomo, a girl of Popa, the daughter of a toddy-drawer. While living with Bomo at Popa, he died of excessive drinking. He then became a *Nat*. He himself was a native of Kuni village, east of Pakhan. In the festival the medium is dressed in a scarlet *paso*, with one end round the neck, and a scarlet turban. He then mimics a cockfight, amuses himself with fireworks, and slaps his arms as Burmese boxers do. He chants an ode in which he confirms the last legend about himself. He is said to be able to cure all affections of the stomach, and is generally propitiated with liquor, for which he has a decided preference.

XXXIII. Myaukpet Shinma Nat was wet-nurse to Mintara Shwedi and a native of a northern Kadu village. She became the second wife of Minye Thengathu. On her return from her parents she was delivered of a son to the west of Sagaing. She lived in a large shed built for her, but she soon died of the effects of childbirth. The child was safely taken to Taung-ngu and delivered into the hands of his father Minye Thengathu. When Tabin Shwedi abdicated the throne, Kyawdin Anawrata, the son of Minye Thengathu, became king and reigned in Hanthawadi. His stepbrother, the son of Myaukpet Shinma, was then made Governor of Taung-ngu under the name of Mingaung. Thus the *Nat* was the mother of Mingaung of Taung-ngu. In memory of the shed in which she died in childbirth, the place on the west of Sagaing is still called by the name of Taigyinga-Ywa.

In her festival the medium wears a black jacket and a black girdle and a shawl, and also is dressed as the medium of the Shwe Saga Nat with the addition of a necklace. She chants an ode, and, holding twigs of *thabye* in both hands, she dances. After this she mimics the sowing of the twigs, as if she were sowing a field. She is supposed to cause all feminine diseases.

XXXIV. Anauk Mibya Nat was the northern queen of King Minganuggyi, the son of King Mingyizwa. During a pleasure trip to a cotton-field west of Ava with her maids she met Min Kyawzwa coming on horseback. On reaching the palace on her return she died and became a *Nat*. In this festival the medium is dressed in the same way as that of the Shwe Saga Nat, but without a rosary. She chants an ode, and mimics the picking of cotton-pods, dresses and spins cotton, weaving it into cloth, which she wears. She then dances.

XXXV. Shingon Nat was the concubine of Sinbyushin Thihathu, who died at Aungbinle. She died at Ava on her return from

Aungbinle and became a *Nat*. In the festival the medium is dressed as that of the Anauk Mibya Nat. Holding her fan in the right hand she bends herself and, walking in this attitude, chants an ode.

XXXVI. Shingwa Nat was a sister of Màndalê Bodaw (XXIV). She was killed during the reign of Anawrata of Pagan along with her brother. In the festival the medium is dressed as that of the Shingon *Nat*. She holds a fan with both hands and, walking on her knees, chants an ode.

XXXVII. Shinnemi Nat was the daughter of Thonban Hla, Queen of Okkalaba. She died at Tabaidaukyit, after her mother, while travelling to Upper Burma, and became a *Nat*. In the festival the medium wears a gold embroidered skirt and a shawl. Placing a bunch of *thangesa* (plantains) on her head she chants an ode and dances. In the ode she is represented as a child, as she died at the age of two. She is credited with having a special predilection for playthings, toys, dolls, and cakes. If she is not provided with these, she will cause the children of her votaries to cry in their cradles without any cause.

At the risk of wearying the reader I have thought it best to give this lengthy account of the thirty-seven *Nats*, as it is essential for our purpose to demonstrate that with the exception of Thagya they are all historical personages. The medium imitates the dress, tastes, and employment of each, and sometimes alludes to his or her fate. The list is also valuable as showing how patron saints arise.

In the preceding pages we have seen the simplest forms of the dramatic representation of the dead by the *Thilakapo* amongst the Nagas, and by the mediums of the *Nats* amongst the civilized Burmans; whilst we shall see similar mediums and like mimetic performances amongst the savage or barbarous peoples of the great islands of the Indian Archipelago, of Africa, and America.

But the Burmese drama has not remained crystallized as a rigid piece of religious ritual. On the contrary, it has made distinct steps towards that true drama which Thespis in Greece and the forerunners of Marlowe and Shakespeare in England detached from sacred shrines and lifted into a distinct artistic form. Yet it has not advanced beyond the purely lyrical stage, consisting of dancing, singing, and instrumental music, the modulation of the vocal expression being much more subtle and intense than the expression of the features, whilst gesture is restricted to the conventional postures of the dance.[1] According to the eminent Burmese scholar, Mr. Taw Sein Ko, to whom reference has been made already, 'a strong religious idea

[1] Max and Bertha Ferrars, *Burma* (1900), p. 174.

underlies some of these dramas.[1] A number of the Jataka stories, like the *Vessantra*, *Janaka*, and *Mahosaddha*, have been dramatized so as to present in popular form the virtues extolled by Buddhism. History, especially the ancient history of Burma, is often drawn upon for dramatic representation. The conquest of Thaton by Anawrata, king of Pagan, in the eleventh century, is a favourite subject among Burmese dramatists. The *Ramayana*, in an adapted form, is also often acted. I am inclined to think that it is derived by the Burmans from the Cambodians, because the dresses and stage paraphernalia of the Burmans and the Cambodians in acting this play are so strikingly similar. There are also nondescript plays based on the current events of the day. There is a singular resemblance between the acting, posturing, dresses, and stage representation of the Burmans, Talaings, Javanese, Siamese, and Cambodians, and it would be interesting to investigate their common origin which appears to be South Indian.'

The usual scene is the palace, its inmates the characters, and the drama adheres tenaciously to the traditions of royalty.[2] Hero and heroine are prince and princess, their retinue courtiers, and the countryman jester or clown; the king is idealized, his deputies travestied. The Burman is very fond of amusement, and is especially addicted to horse-racing, boat-racing, and the drama. He has a perfect passion for *pwe*,[3] a term which really means any form of festivity, the special name for dramatic performances being *zappwe*. *Zat* signifies the history of an incarnation of the Buddha, of which we shall presently give an example. The play may be performed by men and women actors, or by marionettes (*yotthe*) (Fig. 55), and there are shadow-plays as well as true puppet performances. Strange to say, the latter are considered to represent high dramatic art, a point to which we will soon revert. A company usually consists of from four to eight actors, the best being drawn from Upper Burma. No festival, public ceremony, or public rejoicing is complete without a performance of this kind. There is one use of theatricals which may be a survival of ceremonies similar to those at Tangkul funerals (p. 212); the second day after a man's death, his widow sends for a company of actors, who play for the delectation of the friends of the deceased. Besides the

[1] In a letter to Sir J. H. Marshall, Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, in reply to inquiries which the latter had kindly made on my behalf.

[2] Max and Bertha Ferrars, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 173–5 (with fine illustrations). For important fresh matter on *Nat-pwes*, see Addendum A (pp. 387–92).

professional performers of the *zappwe* there are the *hanpwe* or *yeinpwe*, in which the performers are amateurs. Colonel Yule [1] writes thus: 'Each performance is attended by a full Burmese orchestra. . . . The stage of the Burmese theatre is the ground, generally spread with mats. On one, two, or three sides are raised bamboo platforms for the more distinguished spectators. The crowd press in and squat on the ground in all vacant places. In the middle of the stage arena, stuck into the ground, or lashed to one of the poles supporting the roof, is always a small tree,

Fig. 55. A Burmese Marionette Princess.

which, like the altar on the Greek stage, forms a sort of centre to the action. I never could learn the meaning of this tree. The answer usually was, that it was there in case a scene in a garden or forest should occur. There is no other attempt at the representation of scenic locality, and I have a very strong impression that this tree has had some other meaning and origin now probably forgotten. The footlights consisted of earthen pots full of cotton seed soaked in petroleum, which stood on the ground blazing and flaring around the symbolic tree, and were occasionally replenished with a ladleful of oil by one of the performers. On one side or both was the orchestra, such as it has been described, and near it stood a sort of bamboo horse or stand on which were suspended a variety of grotesque masks. The

[1] *Embassy to the Court of Ava*, p. 15.

property chest of the company occupied another side of the stage, and constantly did duty as a throne for the royal personages who figure so abundantly in their plays.'

It is possible that the symbolic tree may have become a conventional part of the *mise en scène*, because it may have been customary to hold the performance in connexion with a sacred or *nat* tree,[1] a practice which we shall see (pp. 300–1) in Japan.

Captain Forbes[2] describes a most striking performance by an amateur company of children in a village. Their principal piece was the *Waythandara*, in which Gautama (Sakyanuni), the fourth of the five Buddhas appearing in this present cycle, exemplified the great virtue of almsgiving. The drama is very popular, and its theme is frequently seen in the frescoes which adorn pagodas, monasteries, and rest-houses.[3] It is, of course, not a native Burmese production, but simply a translation from an Indian original. The Prince Waythandara (We-than-da-ya or Vessantara), having distributed in charity all his treasures, jewellery, and everything else, at last wishes to give away even the sacred white elephant (Fig. 56) to those who beg for it, which so enrages the people that they insist on his banishment by his father, who is forced to yield to the popular outcry. His wife, Maddi, refuses to separate from him, and with her two children, a boy and a girl, Zalee and Ganah, they set out, amid the pathetic lamentations of their relatives, in a chariot for the far distant wilds. On the way the mendicant Brahmans meet him, and having nothing else he offers them his horses and pursues his journey on foot, he and his wife carrying the little ones. Some time after they reach their retreat in the forest, a Brahman (Jugaka) (Fig. 57), who is the villain of the piece, finds them out in order to beg the last object the generous prince has left, his beloved children. He times his approach when the mother is absent, works on the charitable disposition of the prince, who, after sundry struggles with his paternal feelings, gives his two children to the greedy Brahman. With a bleeding heart he sees the Brahman drag off the children, silencing their piteous entreaties with blows. Then the mother returns to find her little ones gone. Her agonized appeals are beautiful. All ends happily, the wicked Brahman dies of over-eating, the children being restored to their parents and the prince to his country.

[1] For valuable fresh information on this point see Addendum A (pp. 387–92).

[2] *British Burma* (1879), p. 149.

[3] L. Allan Goss, *The Story of We-than-da-ya, a Buddhist Legend, sketched from the Burmese Version of the Pali text, illustrated by a native artist*, p. ii.

The pictures are reproduced from two out of a series of twenty-two beautifully coloured drawings illustrating the various scenes of the play, for which I am indebted to my friend, Sir J. H. Marshall, Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, and to the eminent scholar, Mr. Taw Sein Ko, already mentioned in these pages (pp. 231–7), who had them specially executed for him by a native

Fig. 56. Prince Waythandara gives away the White Elephant.

artist. Sir J. H. Marshall writes[1] of these drawings that 'they are exceedingly true to the plays which he himself has seen enacted on the banks of the Irrawaddy. The zayats and other buildings are copies of existing architecture at Mandalay, and the dresses are those commonly worn in Burma—the royal apparel being that in vogue at the court of kings Thibaw and Mindon Min. In their plays the Burmese are fond of keeping up the traditions of the old regal times'.

Captain Forbes proceeds[2]: 'It is, however, singular that according

[1] In a letter dated Simla, June 29, 1914.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 152.

to Burman ideas the legitimate drama of high art is contained, not in these plays, but in the puppet-shows or marionettes. The figures are often two to three feet in height, and are very cleverly manipulated on a bamboo platform some thirty feet long. In these pieces the action is much more complicated than in the live drama, as there is a facility afforded for introducing elephants, horses, dragons, ships,

FIG. 57. Jugaka, the wicked Brahman, carries off the Prince Waythandara's children.

and supernatural beings of all sorts. The dialogue is much loftier and in more polished language, whilst the operatic portion is much larger, and a company often acquires an extensive reputation from the possession of a prince or princess who has a good voice and pleasing recitative. The performers—those who work the puppets and speak for them—are always men and boys. These puppet-plays are almost always founded on the story of one of the many previous existences of Gautama, such as the *Waythandara* before described,

or else historical dramas, taken from the actual national history, but always with a very large proportion of the fabulous and supernatural.'

We have here, if it were wanted, another proof that the puppet-play is not the origin of the drama, but, as we have argued above (pp. 160–4), a cheap means of placing famous historical dramas within reach of the populace. We have likewise seen that puppet-plays of India passed not only into Java and Malaysia, but also into Burma, Siam, and Cambodia. We may thus be able not only to explain why the Burmese regard the puppet-plays as the drama proper, but also to trace the main lines on which the Burmese drama has advanced. In India the earliest dramas were those founded on the great Epics which enshrine the exploits and sufferings of Rama and Krishna, and in India to this hour the most popular performances, whether by living actors or by puppet-players, are those based upon these ancient heroes. Furthermore, we found dramas representing the lives, sufferings, and exploits of later historical personages, such as Gautama and his great follower, King Asoka, as well as much later historical characters, whether great maharajahs, devotees, or martyrs. In Burma, the starting-point is the same, though we can see the earliest stage in a simpler form. There are (1) the impersonations of the *Nats* (who are regarded as the spirits of real personages), by their mediums ; (2) the true dramatic element borrowed from the Indian historical plays of Rama, presented by the puppet-players ; whilst to these succeed (3) dramas based on the Indian models, but finding their themes in the national history and mythology often mixed with Buddhistic elements, and performed both by puppet-players and by living actors, the latter to be regarded as the lineal descendants of the mediums and shamans who personated the spirits of the dead. As not only the true Burmese drama began with the introduction of the puppet performances of the Rama plays, but as there is also the indigenous element in them, based upon the native history and mythology, the puppet-play is thus reasonably regarded by the Burmese as the true exponent of high dramatic art.

VII. THE INDIGENOUS DRAMA OF THE MALAY PENINSULA

When we pass into the countries south-east and east of Burma—the Malay Peninsula and Siam—in spite of the scantiness of the data as yet available, we can find much that is closely analogous to what we have learned in Burma, India, and Western Asia.

In my *Origin of Tragedy*[1] I have given a description of a native

[1] pp. 100–2.

Malay play furnished by Sir Hugh Clifford and Mr. W. W. Skeat. This of itself furnishes traces of the close connexion of this drama with the spirits of the dead. A *pawang*, or medicine-man, who corresponds to the Burmese *shaman* or medium, is always the head of the dramatic troupe. Before each performance a brazier is placed in front of him, and in it precious woods and spices are burned. While the incense ascends the *pawang* intones the following incantation, the other members of the troupe repeating each sentence in chorus as he concludes it. It is addressed to the spirits of the place or village, and is to deprecate their wrath and envy: 'Peace be unto thee, whose mother is from the earth, and whose father has ascended to the Heavens! Smite not the male and female actors, and the old and young buffoons with thy cruelty, nor yet with the curse of poverty! Oh, do not threaten with punishment the members of this company, for I come not hither to vie with thee in wisdom or skill or talent; not such is my desire in coming hither. If I come unto this place, I do so placing my faith in all the people, my masters who own this village,' &c.

From what we have seen in Burma it is obvious that the spirits here invoked are nothing else than the *Nats* of the Burmese.

According to a letter [1] from my friend, Mr. Ivor H. Evans, M.A., Clare College, Cambridge, Assistant in the Perak Museum, the '*mayong*, or native play, is half play, half mumming performance. But as in Burma there is an adventitious dramatic element from India, so too is it with Malaysia'. Mr. Evans adds that 'all over Upper Perak, as well as in the Siamese States, the shadow-shows are quite common. They have, of course, quite complicated dramas of Hindu (ancient) origin'. Hanumat, the monkey god, is represented in some of them.

Mr. Evans also informs me that 'the town Malay delights in very mixed companies playing such pieces as *Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves*, &c., and even *Hamlet*!'

VIII. CAMBODIA

Religion. Though the Khmers of Cambodia have long been influenced by Brahmanism and Buddhism, there seems every reason for believing that the latter religion is only a thin veneer and that, as in Burma, China, and Japan, there is a deep underlying stratum of primitive animistic beliefs by which the daily life of the people is really regulated. Thus although Buddhism is the official

[1] Extract from a letter dated May 23, 1913, Perak Museum, Taiping, Federated Malay States.

religion and its splendid pagodas are the official shrines, nevertheless the people set up in the courts of their own houses, at the foot of sacred trees and even in front of the pagodas of Gautama, little mounds of sand, miniatures of the magnificent tumuli which the piety of their ancestors once raised to personages very different from the Buddha. Moreover, on the great festival of the New Year, when lustral water is poured on the images of Gautama in the pagodas, in the palace some is also poured over the golden urns containing the ashes of deceased royalties, whose relics have not yet been deposited in the funerary towers.[1] These practices forcibly remind us of Burma with its universal worship of the Nats and the retention of the cults of dead ancestors in the royal palace (p. 233). We may therefore hold with some confidence even from the facts available, which probably could be largely supplemented, that in Cambodia as in all Farther Asia, reverence for, or fear of, the spirits of the dead forms the workaday religion of the people.

The Drama. The most important element in the literature of Cambodia is its drama.[2] Its themes are drawn from the lives of the ancient kings, which present numerous tragic reversals, quarrels with neighbouring potentates usually springing from the abduction of princesses, amours with low-born beauties, giantesses or daughters of the dragons, the seed of the immortals. When M. Moura wrote in 1883 the royal theatre at Phnom-penh was the only one in the country. It is called Rung-ram, 'dancing shed,' which indicates that here as elsewhere the drama has originated in the dance. Like the early Athenian theatre, it is a sort of huge scaffolding, raised on poles and with a thatched roof; it is open on all sides except at one end, where there is a 'greenroom' separated by partitions from the stage and the public. The theatre is very simple in decoration and is lighted by oil lamps. The musicians are seated on the stage at the end opposite to the 'greenroom'. The members of the chorus are seated along the side between the 'greenroom' and the orchestra. The actors and singers, except in a case of the *Ramayana*, are always women. The *Neac-boc-bat*, or conductress, who sits on a mat a little in front of her chorus, has before her on a primitive reading-desk the text of the piece. The singers are called *Neac-con-crap*, 'the ladies with the two pieces of wood,' in allusion to the two sticks with which they beat time. A mandarin (without any fixed salary) was responsible for the royal theatre, whilst one of the king's principal ladies had charge of the singing of the actresses and

[1] J. Moura, *Le Royaume du Cambodge* (Paris, 1883), vol. ii, pp. 167–8.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 413.

of their costumes. She had assistants to superintend the rehearsals and dress the actresses on the days of performance. The chief of the orchestra was a mandarin of six degrees, and he had to be present at performances on festival days.

The plays are a combination of music, dancing, and pantomime. The actresses on the stage neither speak nor sing, but special singers sitting down on the stage chant the story, beating time with the two sticks already mentioned. The dancers move slowly on the stage, and by their attitudes, their gestures, steps and movements, imitate the characters of the play, a performance which will remind the reader of the stately dances of the mediums of the Burmese official *Nats*. They are very graceful in their poses and the beauty of their costumes enhances their natural charms. According to Cambodian notions, as in Burma, the principal character must be a king, a prince, or a princess. The pieces are divided into acts and scenes, but the intervals are so short that the performance is practically continuous.

Though there can be no doubt that from a remote antiquity the Khmers had some kind of sacred or solemn dances, probably, as in Burma, in honour of the dead, yet it is certain that, like the Javanese, Burmese, and Siamese, their drama owes much to Indian prototypes, for the most important of their plays is the *Ream-ke*, which is only an old translation of the *Ramayana* altered for the worse. M. Moura [1] gives a specimen from it translated by M. Aymonier. The episode treats of the wounding of Prea-leac, that is, of Lakshmana, the brother of Rama (pp. 133 *sqq.*), who himself as well as Ravana, Kumbhakarna, Vibhisana, Bali, Sugriva, Angada, and Hanumat, all appear under Cambodian forms of their respective names. When pieces from the *Ramayana* are produced, the parts are taken by men. This divergence from custom may be due to the fact that the *Ramayana* was introduced from abroad, probably from Java or Bali.

Another very popular play is *Ruong-Eynao* or *History of Eynao*, which according to the Cambodians themselves is also of Indian origin. It much resembles the episodes in the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*. Scanty as are our data for the beginnings of the Cambodian drama, enough is known to show that the plays have nothing to do with the phenomena of Winter and Summer, the Daemon of the Year, or abstract Corn spirits.

[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 445 *sqq.*

IX. CHINA

Let us now pass from North-east Burma into the Celestial Empire. It is hardly necessary to say that nowhere has the belief in the spirits of the dead and ancestor-worship played a greater part in the history and culture of a people. As China not only has a most ancient civilization, but also voluminous literature, here, if anywhere, we ought to find the origin of a national drama. But, as might not unnaturally have been expected, European scholars up to the present have made little research into the earlier stages of Chinese dramatic performances. Just as Professor Pischel has come too hastily to the conclusion that the Indian and most other dramas originated in the puppet-play, so Dr. MacGowan [1] maintains that 'the origin of the Chinese drama lies in the puppet-shows which are still popular and practised with great skill in China, each performance of a play in the interior of China still being prefaced by a puppet-show'. It must be remembered that the Chinese are especially fond of the shadow-puppets long known to the western world under the name of *ombres chinoises.*

In view of the fact that the Hindu puppet- and shadow-play made its way into Burma, Siam, and Cambodia, it seems not unlikely that they also penetrated into China itself, in the interior of which they are still so popular, and that accordingly they are there no more indigenous than they are in Burma. Since they passed along with the Hindu *Ramayana* plays into Java, Malaysia, Cambodia, Siam, and Burma, it is not unlikely that such too was the case in China, although up to the present I have of this no direct proof. As we saw that the Burmese regard them as their high dramatic form because they were the first true drama that reached them, a similar circumstance may account for the honoured place given them in Chinese theatrical exhibitions.

'In a Chinese village', proceeds Dr. MacGowan, 'a play is usually ordered to celebrate the birthday of the god (who takes a keen, if concealed, interest in the play), or of a man. The temple or the man pays the company, and so the play is free to the public, who make holiday all day. Arriving in the early morning to the music of their shrill bagpipes the actors take their pitch in the street, where no one less than a mandarin may disturb them, and the play goes on till sunset.'

[1] *The Times*, Dec. 14, 1911 (Lecture by Dr. MacGowan at Caxton Hall before the China Society).

Dr. MacGowan's statements bring out clearly that (1) with the Chinese the drama is still a very important element in the cults of their local gods; that (2) these gods are supposed to take a keen interest in such performances, and that (3) it is the historical character of the themes which mark essentially the Chinese drama. If it could be shown that these local deities, like those of India and the *Nats* of Burma, were once ancestors or other human beings, we should have gone far to establish the proposition that the Chinese drama, like the Greek, arose in the propitiation of the dead. Furthermore, if it could also be proved that solemn dramatic dances (perhaps analogous to those held in honour of the great *Nats* of Burma, and to those from which sprung the Indian drama) formed an essential feature in the worship of the ancestors many centuries before the Chinese had attained to anything like a fully-developed drama, our position would receive substantial corroboration, and then nothing would be lacking to clinch the proof but the evidence that the plays enacted before the old heroes and heroines, and in which they are supposed to take a deep interest, in some cases at least, still refer to the lives of the deities in whose presence they are played.

If it should turn out that to them and not to Corn or Vegetation spirits the Chinese look for good harvests, we shall once more have cogent evidence that such abstractions are but late secondary phenomena dependent on the primary belief in the immortality of the soul.

There can be no doubt that local gods, as in Greece, were once human beings. Thus the Rev. W. E. Soothill,[1] long resident in China as a missionary, kindly informs me that 'idolatry and theatricals are so closely associated in China that Chinese Christians are practically debarred from indulging in play-going. What is certain is that dramas are performed in all the temples of the local gods, and the object of the performance is to ensure the interest of the god not only in the play but in the prosperity of the individual or locality thus amusing him. Whether the play deals with the mythological account of the god or with features in his earthly history I cannot declare with certainty, though I have little doubt on the subject. Very many of the "gods" are what would be called "Saints" in the Roman Catholic Church—that is, men or women who have lived on earth and acquitted themselves heroically or in some outstanding manner beneficent to the State or the locality'.

My friend and colleague, Professor H. A. Giles, informs me that, so far as he knows, 'local gods are always heroes or heroines of the

[1] In a letter dated August 22, 1913.

immediate neighbourhood, whose memories are cherished among the people'. Again, his son, Dr. Lionel Giles, of the Oriental Department of the British Museum, kindly informs me that though he does not know in China 'anything really analogous to our mediaeval *Miracles*, the historical plays do, however, in certain cases deal with the life and adventures of heroes, who have subsequently been deified. This is especially true of Kuan Ti, the God of War, who played a part in the Wars of the Three Kingdoms, a period of romance and chivalry about A.D. 220'.

Thus the evidence already to hand proves that the local gods, in whose temples dramatic performances are given, and in which the deities are supposed to take a keen interest, were once men and women. Fig. 58 shows an excellent example of one of these local gods, who with his long beard and moustaches is clearly not a Buddha, but a mandarin or chief. The image is finely carved in wood and painted; the god wears a blue cap edged with red; a plum-coloured jacket with floral embroidery over an under-garment of blue. With reference to the part played by dramatic performances in the worship of ancestors, important evidence is also furnished by Dr. Lionel Giles in his admirable paper, 'The Chinese Drama.'[1] He writes: 'We know that in the time of Confucius (500 B.C.) it was customary for solemn dances to be performed in the ancestral temples, at which feathered wands, battle-axes, and other objects were brandished in unison by the dancers.'

In the ancient ritual, when offerings were made to the ancestor, the dead man was represented by a boy, who had to keep mute during the ceremony, a fact which recalls in some wise the *Thilakapo* of Manipur, and still more the mediums of the Burmese *Nats*, for when the spirit of the dead was invoked in the prayer, it was supposed to enter the boy. Later on, the living boy was replaced by a figure of wood or clay, and later still by the tablet with the name of the deceased still in use in every Chinese family. Into this tablet the spirit of the ancestor, when offering and invocation are made, is supposed to come. It is of the highest importance to note that in all the early Chinese rituals, prayers for a good harvest and the like are addressed, not to any Corn or Vegetation spirit, but always to the ancestors. For the foregoing facts I am indebted, as for so much in this section, to my friend and colleague, Professor H. A. Giles. 'We also hear', writes Dr. Lionel Giles, 'of pantomimic displays and

[1] This paper was prefixed to the programme of *The Yellow Jacket*, 'a Chinese drama given in the Chinese manner by George C. Hazelton and Benrimo. Music by William Furst, Duke of York's Theatre: Mr. Gaston Mayer's season.' (1913.)

FIG. 58. Chinese ' local god ' ; Hwasang, near Kucheng, Fuhkien.[1]

[1] This idol was given to me in 1894 by my cousin, Hester Newcombe, to whom it had been presented by a ' Buddhist ' priest whom she had converted at Hwasang, near Kucheng, province of Fuhkien, where in 1895 she suffered martyrdom with the Rev. Robert and Mrs. Stewart and others.

representations of ancient historical events divided into a number of scenes. Certain ceremonies for the expulsion of evil spirits in which a house to house visitation was made by villagers dressed in fantastic garb may also have some connexion with the beginnings of dramatic art. Others are inclined to derive the drama from the puppet-shows, which from time immemorial have been a feature of the life of the people, and they point to the fact that in many parts of China a theatrical performance is still prefaced by a display of marionettes. However that may be, it is certain that for the immense period of twelve hundred years after the time of Confucius no great development of the drama can have taken place, if indeed it can be said to have existed at all. No record of anything in the nature of a modern stage-play can be traced until the reign of the Emperor Ming Hung, of the T'ang dynasty, in the first half of the eighth century. Exceptionally fond of song and dance, this emperor is said to have founded a sort of academy known as the "Pear-tree Garden", where a company of three hundred persons was personally trained by him for the production of what for want of a better name may be described as operas. Music must have constituted the basis of these performances, but it seems that the slender thread of a story was also introduced between the choral songs: and to this day actors in China are often called "Apprentices of the Pear-tree Garden".

'During another long interval of five hundred years there is no evidence that theatricals spread further than the Imperial Court or became part of the recognized amusements of the people. It was not until the close of the Sung dynasty in the middle of the thirteenth century that the dramatic instincts of the Chinese were really awakened. The impulse seems to have come from without, for it is precisely in the period when the all-conquering Mongols were engaged in adding the Celestial Empire to their vast domains that Chinese dramatic literature begins.

'The earliest stage-play that has come down to us, *The Story of the Western Pavilion*, is also one of the most exquisite from a literary point of view, though more lyrical in character and less vigorous in action than many that were to follow. A marvellous creative period now set in, almost comparable in fertility of genius to our own Elizabethan era. The names are recorded of no less than 564 plays and of 85 playwrights who lived under this dynasty, and a collection of the hundred best pieces has been preserved to form a classical repertory, so to speak, of the Chinese theatre. Of these, one of the most famous is entitled *The Orphan of the House of Chao*, a thrilling

drama based on historical facts in which cruelty and craft are met by fidelity and self-sacrifice, with poetic justice in the end. When the Mongol line was replaced by the native Chinese dynasty known as the Ming, the great outburst of dramatic activity had already begun to wane, and the succeeding period was comparatively poor in works of outstanding literary merit. A brilliant exception is *The Story of the Guitar*, a play of moral depth and beauty but somewhat exaggerated pathos, which was performed for the first time in 1404.

'Modern Chinese plays still follow, in external construction at any rate, the model of the dramas produced under the Mongols. They are usually divided into four acts, with or without a prologue, and are accompanied throughout by an orchestra consisting of songs, drums, and cymbals, beside string and wind instruments. The words are delivered in a high-pitched recitative varied by bouts of chanting in passages where special stress is required for the heightening of emotion or the utterance of moral reflections. There is, as a rule, one particular character, who breaks at intervals into song, and fulfils in some degree the function of a chorus. Few Chinese plays last much over an hour, the average length being about forty-five minutes, part of which may be taken up with "gag". It should be remembered, however, that the acting version is considerably shorter than the printed work, as it would appear in a book. It is the rule for a number of plays to be performed continuously. A clash of cymbals announces the conclusion of each, but there is no other interval. This accounts for the widespread notion that Chinese plays are ridiculously long, the contrary being nearer to the truth. There is no sharp distinction, such as we are accustomed to draw, between comedies and tragedies, the latter, in a strict sense of the word, hardly existing at all.'

This last statement, however, must be accepted with reservation, for Dr. MacGowan, in the preface to his translation of the Chinese drama, *Beauty*,[1] states that 'the heroine of this beautiful fairy story lived during the late Han dynasty (A.D. 25–190). China, in those early ages, was often terribly harassed by the wild and barbarous tribes that lived beyond its northern boundaries, and Mongols, and Kins, and Tartars, lured by the wealth of the Flowery Kingdom, used to make savage incursions into it, and when they retired they carried with them not only the plunder of the ravaged districts, but also many of their inhabitants as well. Even royal personages were not safe from these nomadic marauders, and some of them died in exile amongst their captors. The supreme devotion of Beauty to her country,

[1] *Beauty*, a Chinese drama, translated from the original by Rev. J. MacGowan (London, E. L. Morice, 1911).

and her great sufferings and tragic death, have so appealed to the romance and loyalty of the Chinese, that her story has been dramatized, and no play is to-day more popular, wherever it is performed, than it'.

Classes of Plays. Plays are roughly classified as *Military* and *Civil*. *Military* are chiefly based, as in the case of *Beauty* just cited, on episodes drawn from the inexhaustible mine of Chinese history, and deal with the heroism or villany of emperors, celebrated generals, and other famous historical personages. A great deal of fighting takes place on the stage, accompanied by all manner of gymnastic and acrobatic feats. *Civil* plays comprise all the events of everyday life, and range from domestic drama and the comedy of manners and intrigue to farces and burlesques of the noisiest and frequently of the most obscene description. Falling somewhat outside these two main classes are the quasi-religious plays dealing with exhibitions of Taoist magic, or the very popular variety of comedy, in which priests, both Buddhist and Taoist, are held up to ridicule.

Chinese actors are almost exclusively natives of Pekin, and it follows that the language they speak is only intelligible in those parts of China where some form of the Mandarin dialect prevails. In many of the southern and south-eastern provinces the audience have to rely on their quick comprehension of gesture and facial expression. The historical plays, moreover, are performed in a language more concise and elevated in style than the common vernacular, and could not be easily followed but for the fact that every Chinese audience is perfectly familiar with the outline at least of the stories enacted.

Actors. A full Chinese theatrical company is made up of fifty-six persons. The various rôles are classified and kept distinct, each actor being expected to play only one particular class of character. The principal classes are (1) *Sheng*, both the military Sheng, or hero (Figs. 59, 60), and the civilian Sheng, high official, or walking gentleman (Figs. 61, 62); (2) *Ching*, the bold and unscrupulous villain; (3) *Tan*, the female parts, both military (Figs. 63, 64) and civil (Figs. 65, 66), respectable and otherwise; (4) *Tchou*, the low comedy man and buffoon (Figs. 67, 68). The women's parts are, as a rule, played to perfection by men. 'Contrary to the usual belief, women took part in theatricals throughout the Mongol and Ming dynasties, and a stop was only put to the practice as late as the thirteenth century under the reign of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung, whose mother had herself been an actress. Of recent years the ban has been removed and an increasing number of women are again performing on the

public stage. Chinese actors are notoriously among the finest in the world, those who take female parts showing particular skill and likewise commanding the highest salaries.'

Though they do not wear masks, as still in Japan, these played a very important part in the early stage of the drama [1] Shabby

FIG. 59. Principal Military Sheng.

FIG. 60. Subordinate Military Officer (*Sheng*).

in themselves, the actors are quite transformed by the make-up and the gorgeous clothes they don in full view of the public.

'The actor's life is often wretched in the extreme. Bought or hired from poverty-stricken parents at an early age, he is subjected to a very rigorous course of both histrionic and acrobatic training. In addition he has to memorize between a hundred and two hundred

[1] H. L. Joly, 'Random Notes on Dances, Masks, and the Early Forms of Theatre in Japan' (*Trans. Japan Soc. of London*, 1912, p. 39).

parts so as to be able to appear in them at a moment's notice without rehearsal or prompter. In spite of his comparatively high intellectual standard, he is nevertheless regarded as a social outcast, and all his descendants, to the third generation, are debarred from competing in the public examinations.' [1]

Fig. 61. Minister of State (*Sheng*).

Theatres. Permanent theatres in the proper sense of the word are to be found only in Pekin and Canton, and some of the larger treaty ports. Even in these the accommodation is very simple. There is a pit furnished with benches and a table in front of each, and a balcony divided into a number of separate boxes. The stage is built out into the auditorium, so as to be commanded on three sides; it must on no account face west, this being the inauspicious quarter controlled by the White Tiger. There is no scenery, no

[1] Dr. Lionel Giles, *op. cit.*

curtain, and but few accessories. Two doors at the back serve, one for entrance, the other for exit. The theatre, except where customs have been modified by foreign influence, is free to all, but it is understood that every visitor will pay for some refreshment. Open-air performances, however, are the rule throughout the country at large.

Fig. 62. Leading Civilian (*Sheng*).

On the occasion of some rich man's birthday, a troupe of players will be engaged by him for the amusement of the people, or on the festival of some local god a performance may be arranged and paid for by public subscription. A large stage, constructed of bamboo poles, planks, and matting, will be put up in any convenient place that may offer, either under a spreading tree, or in the middle of the street opposite the house of the man that pays for the show, or frequently in the courtyard of a temple, so that the image of the god himself may witness the performance, in which he is supposed to take a great

delight. The representation will begin at noon and go on without intermission until sunset. Plays are also a regular accompaniment of large banquets, towards the end of which the actors come in and submit a list of some fifty or sixty pieces, from which the host will perhaps choose eight or ten. On such occasions the female portion

Fig. 63. Old Woman (*Tan*).

Fig. 64. Amazon (*Tan*).

of the household will look on from a gallery where they are concealed behind a trellis.

Owing to the complete absence of scenic accessories it is obvious that a great deal has to be left to the imagination of a Chinese audience. As each character enters, he tells you himself, quite in the manner of Bottom, who he is (a custom which at once recalls the practice of the Burmese *Nats*) and what part he has to play in the coming drama. The members of the orchestra sit on the stage itself, and footmen wait at the sides to carry in screens, chairs, tables, and the like, wherewith

to represent city walls, and houses, forests, and even mountains. An actor will gravely bestraddle a stick and prance about the stage as though on horseback, without the least fear of evoking a smile, or if dead he will contrive to alter his face and then carry himself off, making movements as though acting the part of a bearer. Again, it

FIG. 65. Comic Female Character (*Tan*).

FIG. 66. Fast Girl (*Tan*).

is quite a usual thing for a player who is getting hoarse to have a cup of tea handed to him by an attendant.

A change of scene is indicated by a pantomimic action or by all the *dramatis personae* walking rapidly in single file round the stage.[1]

There seems no doubt that the Chinese drama exercises a very healthy influence by teaching their national history to a people otherwise uneducated and for the most part unable to read, by

[1] Dr. Lionel Giles, *op. cit.*

inculcating good moral ideals (except in the case of the gross farces occasionally seen in the large towns), and by thus providing a wholesome amusement for otherwise monotonous and dreary lives.

The fact that ' the usual place for holding a performance is under a spreading tree ' makes us wonder if a similar practice may not have

Fig. 67. Low Comedy Man.

led to the conventional tree which now forms the invariable centre of the Burmese extemporized theatre.

Let us now sum up the evidence afforded by the history of the Chinese drama : (1) There were already in the time of Confucius certain solemn dances of a dramatic character held in the ancestral temples, many centuries before there is any evidence for the invention of puppet-plays in India, from which Dr. Pischel thinks that form of entertainment has spread ; (2) historical plays, the diction of which is more lofty and concise than the common vernacular,

continue to be the marked feature of the Chinese drama ; (3) in the temples of local deities, who admittedly were once heroes or heroines of the immediate neighbourhood, dramatic performances, in which these personages are supposed to take an interest, are to this hour regularly given ; (4) these temples of local heroes and heroines seem

Fig. 68. The Buffoon (*Tchou*).

the direct descendants of the ancestral temples in which solemn dramatic dances were already part of the cult five hundred years before Christ. All now wanting is evidence that such plays in some cases—as, for instance, in that of Kuan Ti, the God of War—refer to the life, exploits, or sufferings of the god in whose presence and for whose honour they are performed.

This evidence is supplied by the following letter from the Rev. G. Owen, London Missionary Society, long resident at Pekin, for it will be seen that there are actually plays in honour of the War-god Kuan Ti, who, as we saw (p. 268), was a famous general in A.D. 220. He

writes[1]: 'I am not aware that there are Chinese plays which can be properly designated "sacred historical". There are, however, plays which may be called "temple" plays from the fact that they are more frequently played at the temples than anywhere else, such as plays in which the City God, the God of War, and the God of Fire, or one of the Buddhas specially figures. But such plays are frequently performed elsewhere, and the ordinary theatrical plays, on the other hand, are constantly performed at the temples. The "local gods" are generally of small importance, and their temples are mere shrines, and it is rare that theatricals are performed in connexion with them. In each country district there usually is a temple having a theatre attached in front or alongside of it where theatricals are performed at least every autumn after the ingathering of the harvest; often the plays performed on these occasions may be "temple" or ordinary plays, and are continued for several days.'

As we have seen above that in all the early Chinese rituals it is the ancestral spirits, i.e. local gods, who are invoked to grant good harvests, this puts it beyond doubt that the dramatic performances in the temples of local gods after the ingathering of the crops (as at Eleusis) are really harvest thanksgivings to them. But as these local gods are deified human beings, we may conclude with certainty that it was in honour of the dead and not of mere Vegetation abstractions that the Chinese drama had its origin.

We shall soon find that in Japan similar theatres are attached to Shinto temples (Fig. 70), in which the 'gods' worshipped are invariably ancient local personages. But what is still more important is the fact that it is to these local heroes and heroines, once living men and women, and not to abstract Corn or Vegetation spirits, or the 'Daemon of the Year' that the Chinese offer thanks for a good harvest. In this respect they accord fully with the Chins and the Burmese, and, as we shall soon see, with the Japanese and numerous other races.

I have also been informed by a Chinese gentleman, Dr. Chwang, that the play performed in a temple occasionally has reference to the life of the 'god' in whose honour it is given.

We may thus conclude that as in Western Asia, ancient Egypt, Hindustan, and Burma, the serious drama arose out of the worship of dead chiefs or ancestors, so, too, was it with that of China. For the temple plays seem the lineal descendants of the solemn pantomimic dances held in the ancestral temples in the days of Confucius, and we know not how long before, whilst, as in Greece, Western Asia,

[1] From a letter to me dated Oct. 10, 1913. For this, as for much more, I am indebted to my old friend, Professor James Mavor, of Toronto University.

Egypt, Hindustan, and Burma, the serious dramas are all founded on historical personages, their exploits, crimes, or sufferings. Thus the Chinese drama furnishes strong confirmatory evidence of the view that Greek Tragedy sprang out of the worship of famous chieftains, such as Adrastus of Sicyon.

X. JAPAN

All authorities are agreed that the Japanese drama is independent in origin, though, like everything else in Japan, undoubtedly influenced and modified at a later stage by China. But as it is closely interwoven with the political and religious history of the nation, a brief outline of that history is necessary if we are to understand clearly the origin and development of the drama.[1]

Political History. As in most other countries, the early history of Japan begins in a misty period where fact and myth merge into each other. Although the mythic element not only predominates in the earliest period, but the miraculous even persists, as in the case of Charlemagne, in the lives of emperors who reigned several centuries after Christ, it by no means follows that the earlier annals do not contain a solid nucleus of facts respecting the first beginnings of the nation and its rulers. For, as the present writer has argued elsewhere,[2] it by no means follows that because the traditional account of a certain individual contains miraculous and incredible adjuncts, such a person never existed, for in that case the names of Alexander and King Arthur would have to be erased from the roll of history. On the contrary, the attachment of such extravagant legends to the name of a personage is a strong proof that he not only did exist, but had such a great personality that he impressed both his own and succeeding generations with the belief that his powers transcended those of ordinary men.

Let us, then, start with a very brief summary of the salient points in the mythical period of Japanese history, which are contained in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi*, both dating from the eighth century of our era.[3]

Before men appeared there had been numerous generations of gods or heroes, the last of whom were a brother and a sister, Izanagi

[1] I have to thank my friend, Professor James Mavor, of Toronto University, and Mr. A. E. Brice, Assistant Secretary of the Japanese Society, who have kindly helped me in various ways in the compilation of this section.

[2] W. Ridgeway, *The Early Age of Greece*, vol. i, p. 156.

[3] B. H. Chamberlain, *Things Japanese*, pp. 224 *sqq*.

and Izanami. From their union sprang the Japanese islands and many other gods, but at the birth of the Fire-god, Izanami died. Her husband sought her in the Underworld, but found her only as a reeking mass of corruption. He fled back in horror and purified himself in a stream in South-west Japan, and as he did so fresh deities sprung from his clothes and from his person; Amaterasu, the Sun-goddess (of whom we shall have to speak frequently), from his left eye, the Moon-god from his right, and Susa-no-o, the Impetuous Male, from his nose. To these three their father portioned out the universe. The Moon-god now drops out of the story, but his sister and the Impetuous Male engage in a violent quarrel, which ends by the Impetuous Male breaking a hole in the roof of the celestial bower wherein the Sun-goddess sat with her weaving maidens, and by his letting down a piebald horse which he had flayed backwards. The Sun-goddess, shocked by this crowning outrage, withdrew into a cave, which she closed with a rock, and from which she was allured with difficulty by the rest of the eight hundred myriad deities by means of a solemn dance, regarded as the prototype of the *kagura*, which from the remotest period formed part of the Shinto ceremonial (pp. 301–2, 308–9). The Impetuous Male is banished and the Sun-goddess reigns supreme. But she in her turn fades into the background, and the greater part of the mythology is now taken up with the Impetuous Male and his posterity, who become the monarchs of Izumo, a province in which we shall find the seat of the oldest and most important cult, but which belongs, not to the Mikado, but to chieftains and their families who preceded the present Imperial dynasty.

The Impetuous Male never assumed the lordship of the sea, the portion assigned to him by his sire, but he reappears in Izumo, and later still as the deity of the abode of the dead. Nevertheless, he seems to have kept some control over the land of the living, since he invested his descendant of the sixth generation with the lordship of Japan. Round this latter cycles a whole series of events, centring in the province of Izumo. He has a long roll of exploits, amours, and descendants. Now comes a strange reversal. The Sun-goddess appears suddenly on the stage and resolves to bestow the sovereignty on another, but whether this other is her own son or her brother's is not clear. After no less than four embassies have been sent down to Izumo, the chief at last surrenders his throne on condition that a palace or temple be built for him, and he be duly worshipped. As the great shrine of Izumo is one of the five earliest in Japan, and as these are all dedicated to chieftains and their families who preceded the line of the Mikados, it would seem that this legend mirrors,

albeit darkly, the supersession of an indigenous dynasty by that which has held rule ever since. But to this point we shall revert later on. The son of the deity whom the Sun-goddess had selected descends not to Izumo, but to Kyushu, the south-west island, and this grandson of the Sun-goddess is the reputed ancestor of the Imperial house. His son, Firefade, had four sons, one of whom was the first human Mikado, and to him was given later the name of Jimmu Tenno.

The scene again shifts. The province of Yamato, hitherto obscure, becomes henceforth the seat of power. This legend may perhaps mean that the Japanese first crossed from the mainland into Kyushu, the nearest of all the islands to the mainland of Asia, and that from thence they pushed forward their conquests into the other islands. Then comes a period in which the annals supply only genealogies and no myths. Next follows the reign of the Mikado, Sujin Tenno, which, according to the orthodox chronology, immediately preceded the Christian era. In his time the former monarch or deity of Izumo, or God of Miwa (i.e. the old aboriginal chieftain, who had been dispossessed on condition of having a shrine), reappears and sends a pestilence, which, from a suggestion revealed in a dream, Sujin was enabled to stay, but later on the god of Izumo has a fresh outburst. Sujin's successor, Suinin Tenno, whose date is set by the annals at 2 B.C., deserves ever to be had in memory, as it was he who put an end to the horrible practice of burying alive the slaves of the royal and noble families to form a Living Hedge round the graves of their deceased masters and mistresses. For a long period royal gallantries and family quarrels form the chief part of the story until we reach the cycle of which Yamatotake is the hero. His exploits are many and varied, and when he dies he passes into a white bird, just as, according to Cornish legend, King Arthur's Spirit lodged in the ' russet-patted chough '. A blank now ensues and the next reign brings us back to Kyushu in the south-west. As this island lies right opposite Corea, the annals are probably quite correct in representing the Japanese as getting into communication with that country, and even conquering a part of it under the Empress Jingo. After this success she sails for Yamato, which henceforth down to modern days remained the seat of the Empire, as is attested by the vast number of royal and other sepulchres in that district, especially in the neighbourhood of Nara. As yet there was no continuous seat of government, for each new Mikado chose his own residence, and accordingly some sixty capitals are recorded in the annals. Nara was the first capital in our sense of that term. Founded in A.D. 709 it was the residence,

until 784, of seven successive Mikados. But in about 790 the seat of government was fixed at Kyoto in the same province, which remained the Imperial capital down to 1868. With Yamato as the seat of power China now comes into the Japanese ken. It is only at the beginning of the fifth century that the miraculous finally disappears out of the annals, for at that date historiographers were appointed for the several provinces—that is, within three centuries of the compilation of the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*.

Fabulous as is the greater part of the earlier annals, and uncertain as is the chronology until A.D. 461, we may at least infer that the first centre of anything like a monarchy was in Izumo, but that this belonged to the aborigines, from whom are descended the Ainus; that with the coming of the Japanese the centre of power was in Kyushu, that it oscillated back to Izumo, swung once more to Kyushu, and then settled down permanently in Yamato. Further, it seems probable that the clan or family in which the chieftainship was vested at the dawn of true history, had already held the headship continuously for many generations before the Christian era; moreover, that the Japanese had got into communication with Corea some time not far from the Christian era and with China a little later. The statements of the annals on these points are supported by other considerations, partly from Chinese sources, and still more so by modern archaeological research.

Our earliest knowledge of Japan is derived from Chinese literature and goes back as far as the first century of our era. The Japanese are then described as using arrowheads of bone, but two centuries later those of iron. Japan can hardly be said to have had a Copper or a Bronze Age, but seems to have passed direct from Stone to Iron, deriving her knowledge of copper and iron from Corea and China.

This reference to the first use of iron in Japan agrees well with what we now know of the first use of that metal in China. It was formerly supposed that iron had been used as a metal by the Chinese from a very remote period and long before it was so known or used in Europe. But the present writer has shown,[1] by the aid of Professor H. A. Giles, that the first mention of iron in Chinese literature occurs no earlier than the Odes of Confucius; that a bronze sword, then belonging to Canon Greenwell, but now with the rest of his splendid bronze collections in the British Museum, has an inscription in the ancient script which dates it between 247 B.C. and 220 B.C.; that bronze swords were being used as late as A.D. 100, and that it

[1] W. Ridgeway, 'The Beginnings of Iron' (*Report of the British Association, Leicester Meeting*, 1907, p. 644).

was only in the first century after Christ that iron swords (as we know from inscribed specimens) were coming into use. This literary evidence he has now been able to corroborate [1] by a group of bronze and iron weapons and implements (in his own possession), including a fine bronze axe, a bronze halbert of curious form, and an iron hoe. These were found in graves of the Han dynasty (*circa* 200 B.C.–A.D. 190), as is rendered absolutely certain by the well-known pottery of the Han period with which they were associated. This 'find' proves that the Han period was that of transition and overlap of the two metals, and that iron was only coming into use at the time indicated by the documentary evidence respecting inscribed iron swords.

The Japanese monuments, of which the most remarkable are the great sepulchres of their kings and nobles, go back to several centuries before Christ.[2] They are very numerous everywhere, except in the more northern part of the main island, being particularly numerous, as might have been expected, in the Gokinai—the five provinces near the ancient capitals of Nara and Kyoto. Indeed the plain of Kawachi, to which we shall have to refer more than once, is practically one vast cemetery. The largest tombs are those called *Misasagi*, the term applied to the tombs of emperors, empresses, and princes of the blood. The oldest of these were simple mounds, but at some uncertain period the primitive barrow was modified for the Mikados' monuments, and this type continued with little change for some centuries. In addition to the conical mound it had one of triangular form merging into the other. The interment took place in the conical part, the other perhaps serving as a platform on which were performed the rites in honour of the dead. The whole was surrounded by a moat, sometimes by two concentric moats, with a narrow strip of ground between them. This material rampart was fortified by a ghostly circle known as the Living Hedge, formed by burying alive, with their heads above ground, the slaves of the great personage at the conclusion of the funeral obsequies.[3]

These tombs vary much in size; that of the Emperor Ojin, near Nara (the capital from A.D. 709–84), measures 2,312 yards round the outer foss and is some 60 feet in height. There is a larger one near Sakai, and there is one in Kawachi, on the side of which a good-sized village has been built.

[1] W. Ridgeway, *Proc. Hellenic Soc.*, May 5, 1914.

[2] The best account of these is that given by Professor W. Gowland, F.R.S., in his *Dolmens and Burial Mounds of Japan.*

[3] B. H. Chamberlain, *Things Japanese* (ed. 5, 1905), pp. 29–31.

These great mounds are usually covered with trees, the nesting-places of numerous birds, such as the white egret. Of late the Government has cared well for these relics, especially for the Imperial tombs, which have been fenced round and provided with honorary gateways, and embassies are sent once or twice a year to worship at them.

The intercourse with China, which had kept steadily increasing, suddenly blossomed and brought forth marvellous and abundant fruit in the middle of the sixth century, when there ensued a mighty change in Japan, both spiritual and material. Between A.D. 552 and 561 zealous bands of Buddhist missionaries spread the new Gospel over all the islands. The lofty tenets of Gautama, with their inculcation of self-abnegation and humanity, caught hold of all the best minds in the island kingdom, and it became the established religion, though, as in India, Burma, China, and elsewhere, the underlying Animism never really lost its power as the most potent factor in the workaday life of the people.

This religious revolution was not long after followed by another, itself largely due to the change of faith. The arts of China had been adopted with an alacrity only equalled by that with which the Japanese in our own time have borrowed and assimilated the ideas of the West. Mathematical instruments and calendars had been introduced, as well as the Chinese pictographs (some forty-six of which were made into phonetic signs), in which books were soon written, including the *Kojiki* itself (A.D. 713). But not only the arts, but also the political methods of China were copied. The Mikados under the emasculating influence of the worst side of Buddhism adopted the custom of abdicating the throne in order to wipe out the sins of their youth by laying up 'merit' in an old age devoted to religious exercises and meditation. The empire was now organized after the Chinese centralizing system, with ministers responsible to the Mikado, who was theoretically absolute. The Mikado, no longer keeping an active control of all departments, became merely the instrument of priests and women, and the slackening reins were soon grasped by stronger hands.

According to the myth, the Sun-goddess's grandchild, when he descended on earth, had as one of his principal advisers Amenokoyane. From the earliest period the heaven-descended Mikados had as their closest followers the priestly family of Nakatomi, who traced their descent from this Amenokoyane. The nominal minister of each Mikado, after he became of age, and the regent, if he were a minor, always belonged to this clan, from which later sprung the Five

Setsuke or Governing Families,[1] Fujiwara, Taira, Minamoto, Ashikaga, and Tokugawa.

The priestly families of Nakatomi and Imbe, as well as the Sarume (female dancers) and the four tribes of Urabe or diviners, certainly date from the prehistoric period, and that the sanctity which antiquity confers attached to the functions with which they were clothed, is clear from their being taken up into the new religious hierarchy, while still preserving their hereditary character.[2] According to the famous myth of the Sun-goddess, Amenokoyane had played, as we shall see, a conspicuous part in enticing the goddess out of her rock cavern, by reciting a great liturgy. Since that time he and his descendants, the Nakatomi, are said to have filled the hereditary office of reciters of the Ohoharahi no Kotoba and other rituals, of which we shall treat presently. At the great Purification ritual ceremony the Urabe had only the subordinate function of throwing the purificatory offerings into the river, but in the Middle Ages it became the practice for them to recite the ritual itself instead of the Nakatomi. At the present time the office of the Nakatomi as readers of the *Norito* or liturgy no longer exists, it being now read by a priest of the temple concerned.[3]

In the seventh century part of the Nakatomi clan took the name of Fujiwara, and by the end of the eighth century they had become the Mayors of the Palace. Not only did their sons hold all the great offices of state, but they married their daughters to *fainéant* Mikados, a fact which we shall find of importance further on in this inquiry. This powerful family controlled the whole empire from 670 to 1050. But by the middle of the eleventh century, two other great clans, the Taira and the Minamoto, also sprung from the Nakatomi, now made their strength felt. The Taira were descended from an illegitimate son of the Mikado Kuwan-mu Tenno, the Minamoto from his successor Saga Tenno, facts of no small importance when we come to examine the shrines of the Imperial family and their cults at Kyoto. The Taira had their head-quarters in that city and their clans were paramount in the provinces near the capital, whilst the Minamoto sphere of influence was in the north and east. The history of Japan during the latter part of the eleventh and all the twelfth century is made up of the continual struggles of these rival families, as a consequence of which the feudalization of the country was completed. As we shall see later, the Japanese Epic and Tragedy drew their themes

[1] Sir E. Satow, *Trans. Asiatic Soc. of Japan*, vol. vii, p. 106.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 107.
[3] Florenz, *ibid.*, vol. xxvii, pp. 15–16.

in no small degree from incidents in the strife of these two great houses.

In 1185 the Taira family was finally overthrown at the sea-fight of Dannoura, and thereby Yoritomo, the Minamoto chieftain, gained the supreme power. He now obtained from the Court at Kyoto the title of Shogun, i.e. Generalissimo, which had hitherto, since its first employment in 813, been the ordinary term for a general employed against the Ainus or rebels, but which, like the Latin Imperator, had henceforward a new connotation. It must, however, be borne in mind that no Shogun ever aspired to the title of Mikado, and that each was instituted to the office by the Mikado. The Shoguns never dwelt at Kyoto, which continued to be the residence of the Mikado until 1868. They set up their court at Kamakura, not far from the modern Yokohama, in 1189. Kamakura was taken by storm in 1455 and again in 1526, after which it gradually sunk, until it was replaced by Yedo in 1590. The latter continued to be the seat of the Shogunate until the abolition of that office in 1868, when, under its new name of Tokyo (East Capital), it became the seat of the Mikado. The Mikado then removed thence from Kyoto, now termed Saikyo (West Capital).

But just as the Minamoto had become the executive officers of the Mikado, so they in turn became mere shadows of a shade, the real power being wielded from 1206 to 1333 by the so-called regents of the Hojo family. These powerful rulers, themselves vassals of the Minamoto, dealt as they pleased with the Mikado and the whole country, whilst the Shoguns kept a nominal court at Kamakura. Indeed the repulse by the Hojo regent of the Armada, sent by Kublai Khan to add Japan to his vast dominions, amply justified their seizure of power.

A fourth great family now comes upon the stage. The death-in-life atmosphere of the Court at Kyoto was quickened by a family dispute for the throne, which lasted for sixty years. The powerful Ashikaga clan obtained the Shogunate in 1338, and by their aid the northern claimant finally triumphed in 1392. The Ashikaga Court at Kamakura became a great centre of literary culture, and under one of that family, as we shall see, the drama reached its perfection. Then the same story of mastery, luxury, and decadence is repeated. Their power was wielded by ministers until they lost it for ever in 1597.[1]

The advent of the Roman Catholic friars and the use which the Roman Church invariably makes of its converts for political purposes

[1] Chamberlain, *op. cit.*, pp. 232–7.

added a new element of discord to the already distracted land. Each baron became a law unto himself, and there arose a state of things not unlike that of France in the eleventh century prior to the Truce of God (1035) and the Peace of God (1040). This chaos was at last reduced to order by three great men of the Tokugawa family: Oda Nobunaga, the Taiko Hideyoshi, and Tokugawa Ieyasu. The latter obtained investiture as Shogun for himself and his heirs from the Mikado in 1603, and henceforth the Tokugawa enjoyed this office until its abolition in 1868.

Under this new dynasty grew up that Old Japan which remained closed to other lands until the last century.

Towards the close of the seventeenth century, under the grandson of the great Ieyasu, arose a school of learned men whose historical studies were destined to have a great effect not only upon the religious but also upon the political life of Japan. Their thoughts turned more and more to the ancient history as well as the ancient Shinto religion of their race.

In 1857–9 the Shoguns opened Yokohama, Hakodate, and certain other ports to foreigners. With the revolution in 1868, the emergence of the Mikado, and the splendid self-denying ordinance by which the nobles voluntarily gave up all their feudal rights, that curious system of the Shogunate which had lasted in some form or other for nearly seven centuries set for ever, to be succeeded by the glorious dawn of a new Japan.

JAPANESE RELIGION

Shinto. There is no doubt that from remote ages the religion of the Japanese, like that of all primitive peoples, was Animistic, its essence being the belief in the existence of disembodied spirits, some good, some evil, whom it was essential to honour or propitiate. This primitive religion, which continued without interruption until the advent of Buddhism in the sixth century of our era, was thus practically identical with the early religion of the Chinese known as *Tao*, as indeed is shown by the fact that the Japanese term *Shinto* is simply the Chinese phrase meaning ' The Way of the Gods ' or ' The divine Way '. This term, however, only came into use after the introduction of Buddhism in A.D. 552 to distinguish the old religion from the *Buppo*, ' The Law of the Buddha.'

The Buddhist missionaries at once exercised a vast influence on the Japanese mind, as we have already seen, not the least of which was political. For in no long time, opiated by the baneful side of

Buddhism, the line of Jimmu Tenno sunk into an agelong sleep, from which it was only awakened after eleven centuries by the revival of *Shinto* with its virile doctrine of the existence of personal souls after death, instead of a mere karma or bundle of merits.

Ryobo-Shinto. But although Buddhism, by its lofty ethical doctrines and its gorgeous shrines and paraphernalia, exercised a great and enduring influence on Japan, yet it was in reality only a veneer, for the practical religion of the court, the nobles, and the people always continued to be the worship of ancestors. From this blend of the primitive religion with that of Gautama arose an eclectic form known as *Ryobo-Shinto*, which remained unchallenged as the public religion of the nation until the end of the seventeenth century. At this time there was a great historical and national revival encouraged by the then Shogun, the grandson of the renowned Ieyasu. Several of the leading Japanese scholars, who were deeply versed in the ancient literature, turned their thoughts more and more backwards to the religion of their race. This feeling grew steadily though quietly until, at the great revolution of 1868, Buddhism was disestablished and disendowed, thousands of temples being purged of Buddhist ornaments and appurtenances, and Shinto was made the State religion, as it is at this hour.

We can study the primitive Japanese religion in several ways: by the myths, contained in the early annals, briefly rehearsed above, and by analysing the names of the gods and other supernatural beings who figure in those legends; but much the best is the investigation of the practical side of Shinto by considering the attitude which the worshippers assumed towards the objects of veneration, the means adopted for conciliating their favour or for averting their anger, and the language in which they addressed them as revealed to us in the ancient rituals.

How strong is its grasp on the Japanese mind is familiar to all who remember the striking account of Admiral Togo's visit to the Shinto temple to announce to the spirits of those who had fallen in their country's cause at Port Arthur and in the other struggles against the Russians the news of final victory.

The *Bushido*, or the 'Way of the Warrior', the worship of the Mikado, is but a particular phase of Shinto in vogue amongst the military class. It will be remembered that Admiral Togo ascribed his first victory over the Russian fleet 'to the glorious virtue of the Mikado', whilst no less striking was the suicide, on the occasion of the late Mikado's funeral, of General Nogi (the conqueror of Port Arthur) and his wife.

In every Japanese house there is what is called a Kami-dana, or 'shelf for gods', which consists of a miniature Shinto temple in wood, containing paper tickets with the names of various gods, one of whom is invariably Ten-shoko-daijin, the principal deity of Ise.[1] This ticket, or rather paper-box, is called *o-harai*, and is supposed to contain between two thin boards some pieces of the wand used by the priests at Ise at the two annual festivals in the sixth and twelfth months of the year. These festivals are O-harai no Matsuri, and are supposed to effect the purification of the whole nation from sin during the preceding half-year. Every believer who has one of these *o-harai* in his Kami-dana is protected thereby from misfortune for the next six months, at the expiration of which time he ought to exchange the *o-harai* for a new one, which he must fetch from Ise in person, but in practice the *o-harai* is only changed once a year, perhaps less often. The old ones ought to be cast into a river or into the sea, or may be destroyed by burning. They are usually employed to light the fire which boils the water for the bath prepared for the *miko* (p. 303), or virgin priestesses, after their dance in honour of the *uji-gami*, or patron-god of the locality, at his festival.

'The God or Spirit', writes Sir Ernest Satow, 'who "vivifies" or "completes", "fulfils" the country [i.e. gives good crops], is the principal god of the locality, and is represented in later times by the Ichi-no-miya, or chief Shinto temple, in each of the provinces into which the country came to be formally divided for administrative convenience.'

The Japanese language generally makes no distinction between god and goddess.

Temples. The ordinary Japanese name for a temple, *ya-shiro*, is a compound of *ya*, 'house,' and *shiro*, 'area' or 'enclosure,' and thus signifies the land on which the temple is built rather than the building itself.[2] But there is another term for temple, *mi-ya*, which is simply *ya*, 'house,' with the honorific prefix *mi*, and 'which is used indiscriminately for the house of a chieftain, the tombs of the dead, and the temples of the gods'.[3] It thus closely parallels the Greek ἀνάκτορον and ἀνάκειον which similarly mean the house of a king (ἄναξ), the shrine of a hero, and ultimately the temple of a god. The Shinto temple was and is nothing more than the primaeval house, the palace even of the early Japanese sovereign being simply a wooden

[1] Satow, *Trans. Asiatic Soc. of Japan*, vol. ii, p. 114.

[2] Satow, *Trans. Asiatic Soc. of Japan*, vol. vii, p. 115 ('Ancient Japanese Rituals, No. 1').

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 123.

hut with its posts planted in the ground and all tied together by cords of fibre.[1]

In a very ancient liturgy, called the 'Luckwishing of the Great Palace',[2] which dates from the earliest ages, from the establishment of the capital at Kashihara in Yamato by Jimmu Tenno, and in similar language in the *Kogo jifuwi*, we have an admirable description of how on that occasion the timber was cut in the forest with the sacred axe, which was made of stone and specimens of which are found along with arrowheads and clubs of like material, and how the foundations of the great hall of the palace were dug with the sacred spade. The pillars of the house were firmly planted on the rocks beneath the surface, and the ends of the rafters crossed over the ridge-pole were raised high towards the sky. Offerings, 'divine treasures,' namely a mirror, beads, a spear, a mantle, paper, mulberry bark, and hemp were prepared by the Imbe (p. 287), who then, under the guidance of the head of their tribe, deposited the sword and mirror, the sacred symbols of sovereignty, hung the building with strings of red beads, laid out the offerings, and read the ritual. The object was to propitiate two deities, who are described as the spirits of timber and rice, to obtain their protection for the sovereign's abode so that it should not decay, and to save its occupier from snake-bites, from pollution through birds flying in at the smoke-hole in the roof, and from night alarms. Many of the Shinto temples have been modified by Buddhist influence and have roofs of shingles, tiles, or even copper, but the few of the purest type still retain the ancient thatched roof, while the upper ends of the rafters which in the primitive house projected above the ridge-pole may still be seen conventionally represented by two pieces of wood in the form of an X, which rest on the ridge of the roof like a pack-saddle on the back of a horse.[3]

As the 'Luckwishing of the Great Palace' is addressed to 'the woman of the great house' it looks as if it may have been addressed to the ancestress of the family.

The sides were constructed of mats, which are replaced by planking, and the entrance is closed by a pair of folding doors turning on heel-pivots. The primaeval hut had no floor, but the house of the dead has a wooden floor raised some feet above the ground, a fact which occasions a sort of balcony all round (Fig. 70) and a flight of steps leading up to it.[4] The Shinto temple is differentiated from

[1] B. H. Chamberlain, *Things Japanese* (ed. 5), pp. 38–9.

[2] Satow, *Trans. Asiatic Soc. of Japan*, vol. ix, p. 190. [3] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 120.

[4] Sir E. Satow, 'The Shinto Temples of Ise' (*Trans. Asiatic Soc. of Japan*, vol. ii, pp. 121–2).

the Buddhist pagoda, which came with the religion of Gautama from China, and ultimately from India, the birthplace of that religion. The former has always (1) a *gohei* or wand, from which depend strips of white paper cut into little angular bunches, intended to represent the offerings of cloth which were anciently tied to the branches of the *cleyera* tree at festival time (p. 298); (2) a peculiar gateway called *torii*; (3) the Shinto temple is usually thatched, whilst the Buddhist is tiled; and (4) the Shinto temple is plain and empty, whilst its rival is ornate and replete with religious properties. In other words, then, the house of the living man became his shrine on his death. This is proved by many facts.

The one peculiarity which more than all others distinguishes the pure Shinto temple from that of the Buddhists, is the absence of images exposed for the veneration of the worshippers. A mirror is often found in mixed Shinto temples, but is absent from all pure Shinto temples. Yet the latter nearly always contain some object (like the Greek ἄγαλμα) in which the spirit of the deity therein enshrined is supposed to reside (p. 305). A common name for this is *mi-tamajiro*, or 'august-spirit substitute'. Another name for it is *kan-zane*, or 'god's seat'. It is usually concealed behind the closed doors of the actual shrine within a casing, which alone is exposed to view when the doors are opened on the occasion of the annual festival.

We possess very full information respecting the Shinto temples and their ceremonials, as they were in the tenth century of our era and we know not how long before. This is contained in the *Yengishiki* the Ceremonial Laws promulgated in A.D. 927.[1] There were 573 temples containing 737 shrines, which were maintained at the cost of the Mikado's treasury, while the governors of the provinces superintended in their administrative districts the performance of rites at 2,395 other shrines. 'Many gods', writes Sir E. Satow, 'were undoubtedly worshipped in more than half a dozen localities at the same time, but exact calculation is impossible.' Besides these 3,132 shrines described as *Shikidai*, i.e. contained in the catalogue of the *Yengishiki*, there were a large number of unenumerated shrines scattered all over the country in every village or hamlet, of which it was impossible to take any account, just as at the present day there are temples of Hachiman, Konpira, Tenjin sama, Sanno sama, and Sengen sama, as they are popularly called, wherever twenty or thirty houses are collected together. The shrines are classed as great and small in the catalogue, the respective numbers being 492

[1] Sir E. Satow, *Trans. Asiatic Soc. of Japan*, vol. vii, p. 105 ('Ancient Japanese Rituals, No. 1').

and 2,640. The distinction is twofold, firstly in the proportionately larger quantity of offerings made at the great shrines, and secondly in the fact that the offerings in the one case were arranged upon tables or altars, while in the other they were placed on mats spread upon the earth. In the *Yengishiki* the amounts and nature of the offerings are stated with great minuteness, but it will be sufficient to mention here only the kinds of articles. As might have been expected, they are just those objects which were especially prized by the living and were therefore thought particularly acceptable to their spirits after death. The offerings to a greater shrine consisted of coarse woven silk, thin silk of five different colours, a kind of stuff called *shidori*, supposed by some to have been a striped silk, cloth of broussonetia bark or hemp, and a small quantity of the raw materials of which the cloth was made, models of swords, a pair of tables or altars, a shield or mantlet, a spear-head, a bow, a quiver, a pair of stag's horns, a hoe, a few measures of *sake* or rice-beer, some haliotis and bonito, two measures of *kitahi*, various kinds of edible seaweed, a measure of salt, a *sake*-beer jar, and a few feet of matting for packing. To each of the temples of Watarahi in Ise was presented, in addition, a horse; to the temple of the Harvest god, Mitoshi no kami, a white horse, cock and pig; and a horse to each of nineteen others.

Although the temple of Kashima is said to go back to 'the age of the gods', that is before the reign of Jimmu Tenno, the first Mikado, yet in reality only five Shinto temples seem to have existed before the days of Sujin Tenno, who according to the orthodox chronology lived in the century before the Christian era. These are the Oho-yashiro in the province of Izumo, which, as we saw above, is the first political centre mentioned in the mythic history, and the four temples of Asuka, Kazuraki, Unada, and Ohomiwa, all in the province of Yamato, in which are situated the two great capitals of historic times, Nara (A.D. 709–84) and Kyoto (A.D. 794–1868). All five are mentioned in the Ritual of Miyazuko of Izumo, and all are dedicated to Ohonamuji and his children, who ruled Japan before it was taken possession of by the present dynasty.[1] Thus the oldest shrines of Japan were erected, not to Nature gods or abstract Vegetation or other entities, but in honour of a great chieftain and his family. The great age of Izumo is further attested by the fact that in the month of October all the 800,000 local and other deities, almost all of whom are merely deified human beings, are supposed to desert their proper

[1] Sir E. Satow, *Trans. Asiatic Soc. of Japan*, vol. vii, p. 398 ('Ancient Japanese Rituals, No. 2').

shrines and go off to the great temple of Izumo, the one exception being Ebisu-ko, one of the gods of Luck, who does not accompany the rest because, being deaf, he does not hear their summons.[1]

Ancient and venerable as were these five shrines of the pre-Mikado dynasty, yet, like innumerable other Shinto shrines, they had been invaded by Buddhism, and not one of them remained a true Shinto temple, for only those that are roofed with thatch are entitled to be considered as being in strict conformity with the principles of genuine Shinto-shrine architecture. The only temples which fall within this limited category are the two great fanes at Ise, of which mention has been already made, the shrine to the gods of Ise on the Nogi hill, and that of Oto no Miya at Kamakura.[2]

Ise. As one of the great temples at Ise is the oldest shrine of the ancestors of the Imperial house, and at the same time they are both the most typical examples of true Shinto sanctuaries, both in outward form and ceremonial, we shall at once proceed to describe them.

The temples of Ise,[3] called by the Japanese Fiodai-jin-gu, or, literally, the 'two great divine palaces', are situated in the department of Watarahi at a short distance from each other. They rank first among all the Shinto temples in Japan in point of sanctity, though not the most ancient, and have in the eyes of the Japanese the same importance as the holy places of Palestine in the eyes of the Greeks and Armenians, or Mecca in those of the Muhammadans. Thousands of pilgrims resort thither annually, chiefly during the spring months, when the weather is most suited for travelling. In Yedo (Tokyo), no artisan considers it possible to gain a livelihood unless he has invoked the protection of the Daijingu sama, as the common people are accustomed to call the gods of Ise, by performing the journey thither once at least, and the peasants are even more devout believers. In former years it was a common thing for the little shopboys of Yedo to abscond for a while from their masters' houses and wander along the Tokaido as far as Ise, subsisting on the alms which they begged from travellers; and having obtained the bundle of charms, consisting of pieces of the wood of which the temples are built, they made their way back home in the same manner. The Ise pilgrims are distinguished on their return by large bundles of charms wrapped in oil paper which they carry suspended from their necks by a string. Stories are even told of dogs making the pilgrimage, no doubt in the company of these boys, and until a short time ago one of these holy

[1] B. H. Chamberlain, *Things Japanese* (ed. 5), p. 162.
[2] Sir E. Satow, *Trans. Asiatic Soc. of Japan*, vol. ii, p. 121.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 113 *sqq.*

animals was still living in Shinagawa. There are regular pilgrims' ways from both east and west, and the Ise can also be easily reached from the harbour of Toba in Shima, only about seven miles distant. The town of Furuichi, about eight miles from Toba, where the pilgrims lodge, stands on a long ridge between the two temples. It consists entirely of inns, brothels, and houses of entertainment, mostly of large size. (The houses stand with their gables towards the street.)

The *Geku* (outer palace) was founded in A.D. 478, 482 years after the setting up of the inner palace (*Naiku*), the Sun-goddess's own temple. It stands in the midst of a large grove of aged cryptomerias. To reach it from Yamada the street called Tate machi has to be traversed and a bridge crossed, which gives access to a wide space enclosed by banks faced with stone. On the right-hand side is a building occupied by Kannushi, priests or attendants of the temple (p. 305), who are to Shinto what the bonzes are to Buddhism. They keep here for sale pieces of the wood used in the construction of the temple wrapped in paper, small packets of the rice which has been offered to the gods, and various other charms. Close by this building stands the *ichi no torii*, or first archway, which forms the front entrance, and whence a broad road leads through the trees to the temple. As is the rule in all pure Shinto temples, the *torii* is of unpainted wood. It consists of two upright trunks planted in the ground, on the tops of which rest a long straight tree, whose ends project slightly ; underneath this is a smaller horizontal beam, whose ends do not project.

The *torii* was originally a perch for the fowls offered up to the gods, not as food, but to give warning of daybreak. It was erected on any side of the temple indifferently. In later times, not improbably after the introduction of Buddhism, its original meaning was forgotten ; it was placed in front only and supposed to be a gateway. Tablets with inscriptions (*gaku*) were placed in the *torii* with this belief, and one of the first things done after the restoration of the Mikado in 1868 in the course of the purification of the Shinto temples was the removal of these tablets. The etymology of the word is evidently ' bird-rest '. The *torii* gradually assumed the character of a general symbol of Shinto, and the number which might be erected to the honour of a deity became practically unlimited. The Buddhists made it of stone or bronze, and frequently of red-painted wood, and developed various forms. It is to the present day a favourite subject for *ex-voto* dedications.[1]

[1] Sir E. Satow, ' The Shinto Temples of Ise ' (*Trans. Asiatic Soc. of Japan*, vol. ii, p. 117).

About a hundred yards up the road through the grove stands a second *torii*, exactly similar to the first, and on passing through this the pilgrim comes in view of an oblong enclosure situated close to the road by the right-hand side. The sides are formed of upright posts about 9 feet high planted at intervals of 6 feet, which are completely built up with planks placed horizontally. The enclosed sides are respectively, front 247, right side 339, left 335, rear 235 feet. It is an irregular oblong, the formation of the ground having determined the proportion. This enclosure is called the Itagaki.

There are five entrances to the enclosure formed by *torii*. Almost the whole of this enclosure has been erected since 1868. Then comes a third *torii*, which leads into a similar court. This leads in turn to a gateway protected by a thatched roof and closed ordinarily by a curtain, the two sides being shut in by low fences. On the left hand is the gatekeeper's lodge. None but privileged pilgrims can pass the curtain, but all can get a full view from a bank on the west side of the enclosure. This inner enclosure has four *torii* closed with gates, an arrangement seldom seen in Shinto temples. A third gateway admits into a third enclosure, Uchi-tamagaki. A thatched gateway leads into the fourth and last enclosure, which is almost a perfect square. Inside stands the *Shoden*, 'Shrine of the gods,' at the back, and two *hoden*, or treasuries, on each side of the main entrance.

All the buildings comprised in the two great temples of Ise are constructed in the primitive Japanese hut style, so disappointing in its simplicity and perishable nature.

The *Shoden* of the Geku, i.e. the shrine of the gods in the outer palace, is 34 feet long by 19 feet wide. Its floor, raised about 6 feet, is supported on wooden posts planted in the earth. A balcony, 3 feet in width, runs right round the building and carries a low balustrade, the tops of whose posts are carved into the shape called *Hoshi no tama*. A flight of nine steps, 15 feet wide, leads up to the balcony in front, with a balustrade on each side. The steps, balustrade, and doors are profusely overlaid with brass plates, but there is none on the altars.

The two *hoden*, or treasuries, are much simpler, and have no balcony and very little brass ornament except on the timbers of the roof. They have floors raised above the ground. Their contents are precious silken stuffs, silk fibre presented by the province of Mekawa, and sets of saddlery for the sacred horses. At Ise the *gohei* have retained their original meaning as wands, with pieces of notched paper representing the cloths offered. As these attracted the gods, they came to be regarded as the seat of the gods, and even the gods themselves, a belief similar to that of the Veddas (p. 211), that at

a sacrifice to Kande Yaka his spirit always enters an *anak* before passing into the shaman. There is but one *gohei* to each god worshipped in any particular shrine, and where three or five are seen in a row the fact indicates that the building is dedicated to the same number of deities. *Gohei* is a Chinese word meaning 'imperial presents'. The other name for them, *Mitegura*, is Japanese, and means 'lordly-cloth-seat'. The wand was originally a branch of the sacred tree (p. 293) called *sakaki* (*Cleyera japonica*). We saw above (pp. 241 *sqq.*) that the medium into which each Burmese *Nat* is supposed to enter regularly carries a twig of the sacred *thaiye* tree. May not the reason for this be that the *Nat* is supposed to be attracted to it and first enter it as the spirit is thought to do in the case of the Japanese *gohei*? Again, the pieces of paper representing the cloths once offered recall the pieces of paper money with small patches of gold or silver leaf affixed which the Chinese offer to the spirits of their ancestors. There is another building where the water and food offered to the gods every morning and evening are set out. These gods are seven in number, viz. the principal deity and three secondary deities of the Geku, and the principal deity and two secondary deities of the Naiku. Up to 729 the food-offerings for the Naiku, after being prepared at the Geku, were conveyed to the former temple, there to be set out. In that year, as the offerings were being carried, they were unwittingly borne past some polluting object on the road. Consequently, the Mikado fell ill, and the diviners attributed his illness to the anger of the goddess of the Naiku. The offerings for the two principal deities consist of four cups of water, sixteen saucers of rice, four saucers of salt, and food, such as fish, birds, and vegetables, offered up by surrounding villages.

The secondary deities get only half the quantity. The principal deity worshipped at the Geku is Toyouke-hime no kami, called Ukemochi no kami in the *Nihongi*, and Ogetsuhime no kami in the *Kojiki*. The whole means 'abundant food-goddess'. Her other name means 'the food-possessing god', and the name in the *Kojiki* means 'the goddess of food'. This principal Food-goddess seems undoubtedly to have been a human being, as she is represented as having been killed. But to her we shall presently revert. The secondary deities are Amatsu-hiko-ho-no-nini-gi no mikoto, Amenokoyane no mikoto, and Amenofutodama no mikoto.

The first of these is the grandson by adoption of the Sun-goddess Amaterasu and the great-grandfather of Jimmu Tenno, the first human Mikado. According to the legend,[1] when she sent him down

[1] Satow, *Trans. Asiatic Soc. of Japan*, vol. ii, p. 126.

to subdue the earth she presented him with various treasures, amongst which the most important were the mirror, sword, and stone (afterwards the regalia of the Japanese monarchs), and attached to his person the other two secondary deities worshipped also in this shrine. With reference to the mirror she said: 'Look upon this mirror as my spirit, keep it in the same house and on the same floor with yourself, and worship it as if you were worshipping my actual presence.' To this mirror we shall soon revert (p. 304). The second of the secondary gods, Amenokoyane, the chief councillor of the Sun-goddess's grandson, is the ancestor of the priestly tribe of the Nakatomi, and thereby of the five Setsuke or ruling families, whilst the third, Amenofutodama, was the ancestor of the other great priestly family of the Imbe. Both these heroes played foremost parts in the enticement of the Sun-goddess from the rock cavern (pp. 300–1). We shall find that Amenokoyane was a real chieftain, and that his cult was of great importance in connexion with the origin of the drama at Kasuga.

'The Naiku is about three miles distant from the Geku, through a continuous succession of houses. The Naiku stands close to a river. It has a *torii* near which are steps leading down to the stream, where pilgrims wash their hands before going to the temple. The whole arrangement of the Naiku is similar to that of the Geku. There are the same number of *torii* in the avenue, and it has also a fourfold enclosure, though they differ in shape and size, being narrower and deeper than those of the Geku. The inner enclosure is larger than that of the Geku. The Sun-goddess (Amaterasu) is the august deity of Ise. The secondary gods in the Naiku are Tajikarao no kami, and Yorozuhatatoyoakitsuhime no kami. The latter was one of the subordinate personages attached to Ninigi no mikoto, the Sun-goddess's grandson and the ancestor of the Mikados when he descended upon the earth.'

We have seen above the story of the quarrel between the Sun-goddess and the Impetuous Male, and how after his final outrage she retired into a rock cavern.

The world was plunged in darkness for a long time.[1] Then all the gods assembled on the dry bed of the river and held council as to the best means of appeasing her anger. They entrusted the charge of devising a plan to Amenokoyane, the wisest. He suggested that an image of the goddess should be made and an artifice employed to entice her forth. A large rock was taken as an anvil, and Ishikoridome no mikoto and the blacksmith Amatsumare no mikoto made

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 128–9.

an eight-hand mirror (probably octagonal)[1] in the shape of the sun with iron from the mines in heaven, a story which indicates the worship of meteorites. The first two mirrors were failures; the third, says the legend, is the august deity in Ise. Two gods were ordered to plant the broussonetia and hemp, to prepare the bark of one and the fibre of the other, while three other gods were to weave the materials of these into coarse striped cloth and into fine cloth for the goddess's clothing. Trees were cut down, spades made, posts erected, and a palace built. Next he ordered another god to make a string of *magatama* ('curved jewels of Yasaka gem').[2] Two other gods made *Tamagushi* from the branches of the *sakaki* (*Cleyera japonica*) and the *susu* (a kind of small bamboo). The *tamagushi* was originally a wand to which were attached valuable stones, but afterwards pieces of cloth and in modern times paper took the place of the stones. It is a smaller *gohei*, carried in the hand.

When all was ready, Amenokoyane and Amenofutodama divined, by placing a bone from a buck in the fire, if the goddess was likely to be appeased. The direction of the crack in the blade of the bone was a good omen. Thereupon Amenokoyane pulled up a *sakaki* by its roots. On its upper branches he hung a string of *magatama*, to the middle he fastened the mirror, and to the lower branches the coarse and the fine cloth. This formed a large *mitegura*, or *gohei* (pp. 293, 298), which was held by Amenofutodama, while he pronounced an address in honour of the goddess. In most of the pictures which represent this scene in the mythology the *mitegura* is represented as stuck in the ground. Sir Ernest Satow thinks that this is due to the

[1] *Nihongi*, vol. i, p. 43 (Aston's trans. with note *ad loc*).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 49 (Aston's trans.). 'The curved jewels are the well-known *magatama*, numbers of which have been preserved. They are made of chalcedony, jasper, nephrite, chrysoprase, serpentine, steatite, crystal, &c. In his note 2, p. 34, he says that the word Yasaka has given much difficulty to commentators. It is written with characters which mean "eight feet", and this is accepted by some as the true derivation. Perhaps the best interpretation is that which makes it the name of the place where the jewels, or rather beads, were made. Yasaka would then mean "eight slopes"; a place of this name is mentioned more than once in the *Nihongi*.' The *magatama* are comma-shaped and usually two inches long. The late Professor Tsuboi showed recently that these jewels are simply copies of the teeth or claws of wild beasts, the most widespread of amulets, as I have shown ('Origin of the Turkish Crescent,' *Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst.*, 1908). But Mr. Aston seems to have overlooked the possibility that the name may refer to a crystalline stone with eight facets. Crystals have always been and are still regarded as the most amuletic of precious stones, and cornelians are frequently cut into faceted shapes by the Arabs and others. The diamond and spinel are both octahedral. The Japanese are especially fond of rock crystal, one of their favourite amulets being a double gourd cut out of such a crystal. It must be remembered that eight is the sacred number of the Japanese (cf. p. 317).

artists' ignorance of the true legend, but it may be that the artists are right in representing a sacred tree hung with offerings for the dead. Next, he made cocks crow in concert. A man of great strength was placed in concealment by the door of the cavern, whilst Uzume was appointed superintendent of the dance. She blew a bamboo with holes pierced through it, whilst other deities kept time to the music with two pieces of wood, which they struck together. This part of the performance is familiar to every one who has been to a modern Japanese theatre, and, as we have already seen (p. 264), is also a feature of Cambodian dramatic performance.

'Amenokamato no mikoto made a sort of harp by placing six bows close together with the strings upwards. This was the origin of the Japanese musical instrument called *koto*, and it is said that specimens are still extant which preserve distinct marks of this form. The strings were made of the *sar no ogase*, a kind of moss found hanging from the branches of the pine-tree high up on the hills. His son, Naga Shiraha no mikoto, produced music from this harp by drawing across the strings grass and rushes which he held in his two hands.' It has long been pointed out that almost all stringed instruments have arisen from the ordinary shooting-bow,[1] the only exceptions being a series comprising the European guitar and fiddle, which have grown out of tortoise-shells across which rude strings were stretched.[2] Uzume no mikoto also made herself a head-dress of a long kind of moss which hangs from the pine-tree, and bound her sleeves close up to her body under the armpits with the *masaki* (*Evonymus radicans*, Sieb., a creeping plant). This proceeding is called putting on a *tasuki*, and is practised to this day by every Japanese woman, when about to perform household duties, such as drawing water or sweeping. She provided herself with a bundle of twigs of *sasa*, a kind of bamboo grass to hold in the hand, no doubt as a sort of bâton with which to direct the movements of the others, and a spear wound round with the grass called *chi*, and with small bells attached to it. Bonfires were lighted in front of the cavern to dispel the darkness which had been created by the sudden retirement of the goddess. Then the *uke*, a sort of circular box, was laid down for Uzume no mikoto to dance upon. Having mounted on to the *uke* Uzume no mikoto began to tread it and cause it to resound, hence the origin of the Japanese drum. She became possessed by a spirit which seems to have been the spirit of folly. She then sang

[1] Henry Balfour, *The Musical Bow* (Oxford, 1899).

[2] William Ridgeway, 'The Origin of the Guitar and Fiddle,' *Man*, vol. viii, Feb. 1908, pp. 17–21.

a song in verses of six syllables, the words of which coincide with the Japanese chief numerals, though it is otherwise translated as "Men, look at the lid," i.e. the door of the cavern; "Majesty appears; hurrah!" "Our hearts are quite satisfied." "Behold my bosom and thighs." When Uzume no mikoto lets her dress fall down so as to expose the whole of her person, her thighs are plainly seen, and at the same time she bares her breasts. The line is an invitation to the assembled gods to enjoy the sight of her charms. These proceedings, which were caused by the spirit which had descended on the goddess, excited the mirth of the gods, who laughed so loudly that heaven shook. This is said to have been the origin of the pantomimic dance called *kagura* (Fig. 69), the etymology of which is given as *kamu*, "divine," and *eragi*, "to laugh," i.e. "the laughter of the gods".

'The Sun-goddess thought this all very strange, and having listened to the liberal praises bestowed on herself by Amenokoyane no mikoto, said: "Men have frequently besought me of late, but never has anything so beautiful been said before." Slightly opening the cavern door, she said from the inside: "I fancied that in consequence of my retirement both Heaven and Japan were dark. Why has Ameno-Uzume danced, and why do all the gods laugh?" Thereupon Uzume replied: "I dance and they laugh because there is an honourable deity here, who surpasses your Glory (alluding to the mirror)." As she said this, Amenofutodama no mikoto pushed forward the mirror and showed it to her, and the astonishment of the Sun-goddess was greater even than before. She was coming out of the door to look when Ameno-no-tajikara-o no kami, who stood there concealed, pulled the rock door open, and, taking her august hand, dragged her forth. Then Amenokoyane took a rice-straw rope and passed it behind her, saying, "Do not go back in behind this." As they were putting the mirror into the cave, it struck against the door and received a flaw which it has to this day. They then removed the goddess to her new palace and put a straw rope round it to keep off evil gods, a practice still observed by the Shintoists.'[1]

Uzume is regarded as the first ancestress of the Sarume, who were primarily women who performed the comic dances (*sarumahi*, or 'monkey dances') in honour of the gods. They are mentioned along with the Nakatomi and Imbe as taking part in the festival of the firstfruits and other Shinto ceremonies. 'These dances', says Mr. Aston,[2] 'were the origin of the *kagura* and *no* performances.'

[1] Satow, *loc. cit.*

[2] Translation of the *Nihongi* (*Trans. Asiatic Soc. of Japan*, Suppl. I, vol. i, p. 79, *note*).

Another function of the Sarume is the part taken by Uzume no mikoto on the occasion of the enticement of the Sun-goddess just described. It is there said that a spirit descended upon her. This divine inspiration has always been common in Japan. The inspired person falls into a trance or hypnotic state in which he or she speaks in the character of some god. Such persons are known as Miko, the virgin priestesses, who, as we saw (p. 291), dance at Shinto festivals. A Miko is defined by Hepburn as 'a woman who, dancing in a Miya, i.e. temple, pretends to hold communication with the gods and the spirits of the dead', in short, a medium. 'There are also', adds Mr. Aston, 'strolling mediums, as in England, women of a low class who pretend to deliver messages from deceased friends and relatives.' The performance ascribed to Uzume is therefore simply that in ordinary use by Shinto priestesses in order to evoke the spirits of the dead.

The description of the Sarume or Miko will at once remind the reader of the mediums in whom the Burmese *Nats* are supposed to reside and through whom to speak; of the *Thilakapo* of the Tangkuls of Assam, who not only represents the dead man or woman, but is regarded as the temporary abode of his or her spirit; of the boy who in ancient Chinese ritual represented the ancestor and in whom that spirit was supposed to dwell; and of the Vedda *Shaman*, into whom the spirit invoked is supposed to enter. It may not be going too far to suggest that as the actors in sacred Hindu plays are regularly Brahmans, because the actors represent the gods, and are the gods for the time, they are a sort of modified mediums, a character much more emphatic in the case of the dancing dervishes who play such an important part in the Shiah side of Islam.

With these examples we may correlate the boys who still dance in the cathedral of Seville in honour of the Corpus Christi and the Madonna (p. 8), whilst we probably have another case of the same principle in the Sicilian belief that Santa Venera dances in Paradise before Jesus (p. 10). All alike seem to spring from the widespread custom of pleasing living kings and other great personages by dancing before them, and from the natural extension of this custom to heroic personages and divinities. Of such many notable instances might be cited, but it is enough for our purpose to recall how, when David returned from the slaughter of the Philistines, the women came out of all the cities, singing and dancing, to meet King Saul;[1] how Salome danced before Herod;[2] how Miriam and the Hebrew women praised the Lord with tabrets and dances for

[1] 1 Sam. xviii. 6. [2] Matt. xiv. 6.

the overthrow of Pharaoh,[1] and how King David himself danced before the Lord with all his might.[2]

I have given at great length this legend of the dramatic dance, not only because it is the chief element in Shinto worship, but because from it sprung the Japanese serious drama. It is obvious that this legend simply represents, as used for the enticing of the Sun-goddess, the ordinary process employed in appeasing or evoking the spirits of the dead, who in early days were often buried in natural caves, and later in those artificially constructed, such as the well-known cromlechs of Japan, to which we have already referred.

The mirror which plays so great a part in this legend was given, as we have seen (p. 299), to Ninigi no mikoto, and by him handed down to his descendants, who kept it in the royal palace. In 92 B.C. there was a rebellion against Sujin Tenno, which he believed due to his having kept the sacred emblem under his own roof. He therefore placed the real mirror and sword in a shrine built for this purpose at Kasanui in Yamato, and appointed one of his own daughters to be priestess. The copies of the mirror and sword which he had made were placed in a separate building called Kashiko-dokoro, or 'Place of reverence'. Later on, in consequence of warnings from the goddess, the princess carried the mirror from province to province seeking a suitable locality. But having grown old in the search, she was replaced in the reign of the next Mikado, Suinin Tenno, by the Princess Yamato-hime no mikoto, who, after many changes, finally chose the present site, on the banks of the Isuzu river, by the village of Uji in Ise (4 B.C.).

All the mirrors in Shinto temples,[3] whether exposed to view, as in those which have fallen under Buddhist influence, or concealed within the *honsha*, as at the Geku, are imitations of this one. It appears that the Tamajiro of the principal and secondary deities of both Naiku and Geku are merely mirrors, but, strictly speaking, Amaterasu o-mi-kami is the only deity who should be so represented. Each mirror is contained in a box of *hinoki* furnished with eight handles, four on the box, four on the lid. The box rests on a low stand and is covered with a cloth, said to be white silk. The mirror itself is wrapped in a brocade bag, which is never opened or renewed, but when it begins to fall to pieces from age another bag is put on, so that the actual covering consists of numerous layers. Over the whole is placed a sort of cage of unpainted wood, with ornaments said to be of pure gold. Over this again is a curtain of coarse silk.

[1] Exod. xv. 20. [2] 2 Sam. vi. 14.

[3] Satow, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 134.

The Tamajiro of the secondary deities are contained in similar boxes without the outer cage and of a smaller size. The boxes, or rather their coverings, are all that can be seen when exposed at festivals. The smaller temples which used to exist at Ise have been demolished within a few years.

The Priesthood. There seems no doubt that the priesthood of each shrine was vested in the descendants of the individual hero-god there worshipped. Kannushi is the general term for all Shinto priests, says Sir E. Satow,[1] but more correctly it means the chief priest in charge of a temple. The priesthood was for the most part hereditary, and in many cases the priests could trace their descent from the chief god to whom a temple was dedicated, a fact which is easily understood when we find that a large number of gods are simply deified ancestors. No better example of this can be cited than the priestess of Ise, and the two great priestly families of Nakatomi and Imbe. The temples of Ise were the oldest shrines of the Imperial family, and it is significant that the priestess was always a virgin daughter of the Mikado. Of the Nakatomi we have already spoken, and we shall presently find them as the priests of other great shrines of the Imperial family, to which, as we have seen (p. 287), they were closely related. The Imbe, Inbe, Imibe, or Imube, were a class of hereditary priests belonging to several families, whose duties were to prepare the more durable articles offered to the gods at the principal services, to cut down the timber required for rebuilding of temples periodically, and to construct them. They were supposed to be descended from Futodama, who (p. 300) held before the door of the rock cavern into which the Sun-goddess had retired the *mitegura* tree adorned with pendants, the famous mirror, and the offerings of cloth, so important, as we have seen, in the ritual of Ise. There were families of Imbe, not only in Ise, but also in Awa, Sanuki, Kii, and Tsukushi. They were allowed to read, as we shall see, the liturgies at the services of the ' Luckwishing of the Great Palace ' and ' Gates '.[2]

From this sense of property in the temple (cf. p. 127) sprang the term Kaminushi, ' owner of the Gods,' corrupted into Kannushi. The *Hafuri* were an inferior class of priests whose functions were to present the offerings and to read the prayers. The Chinese characters with which this is written mean literally ' felicitating section, or body ', and refer to the recital of the glorious deeds of the dead, which form a part of the ritual or address spoken over his grave.[3] In the great ritual ceremonies at the Court in Kyoto and elsewhere the priesthood was hereditary in the family or tribe of Nakatomi, who traced their

[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. vii, p. 112. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 126. [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 112–13.

descent from Amenokoyane, who (p. 300) in front of the cave had eulogized the Sun-goddess, and who was one of the principal advisers attached to her grandchild when he first descended on earth. The nominal prime minister, as we have seen above, of the Mikado after he became of age, and the regent, if he were a minor, always belonged to this tribe, which afterwards split up into the Five Setsuke, or governing families (pp. 286–7).

Festivals

The propitiation and honouring of deified men and women whose spirits were supposed to dwell in the Shinto temples naturally found expression in festivals, the Japanese name for which is *matsuri*. The essential parts of a *matsuri* are four : (1) the purification (*harahe*), (2) the offerings, (3) the solemn dramatic dance (*Kagura*), and (4) the liturgy (*Norito*).

Every great festival of a Shinto shrine is preceded by a purification by means of which the priests and others taking part in the festival are cleansed. This ceremony takes place in a hall or open space prepared for the purpose (*harahe-dokoro*, ' purification place '). The ceremony consists in the *kami-oroshi*, ' bringing down the spirits of the purifying deities ' into the *himorogi* (a *sakaki* branch with cut paper hangings), which stands on an eight-legged table in the middle of the ' purification place ', the recitation of the purification prayer, various subsequent symbolic ceremonies, and the *Kami-age*, or ' sending back the gods to their abodes '. Thereupon the priests are considered to be pure and the *matsuri* proper can begin.[1]

Offerings. The kind of objects offered to the deities have been already given (p. 294).

Norito. An important part of every performance of Shinto rites,[2] not less so than the presentation of offerings to the god, or departed human spirit, is the reading or recitation of a sort of liturgy or ritual addressed for the most part to the object of worship, in which the grounds of this worship are stated and the offerings are enumerated. The Japanese word for such a liturgy or ritual is *Norito*, frequently pronounced *notto*. These *Norito* may be, and often are, composed for a single special occasion, as, for instance, a funeral conducted according to Shinto rites, and the Government Gazettes of the years immediately succeeding the Mikado's restoration, in 1868, contain a large number of these occasional *Norito*, as, for

[1] Florenz, *Trans. Asiatic Soc. of Japan*, vol. xxvii, pp. 1 *sqq.*

[2] Satow, *op. cit.*, vol. vii, p. 97.

instance, rituals to add greater solemnity to the oath by which the sovereign bound himself to govern in accordance with liberal ideas; to celebrate his removal to the eastern metropolis; to obtain military success over his enemies; to give sanctity to the institution of an order of lay-preachers who were intended to spread abroad the teachings of Shinto; in honour of the gods of war, and to confirm the bestowal of posthumous titles on certain predecessors of the Mikado who had hitherto not been recognized as legitimate sovereigns. The *Norito* used in the celebration of the annual service called Chinkonsai, the object of which is to pacify the Mikado's soul, or, in other words, to ensure to him continuance in bodily health, is also said to have been from the earliest ages composed afresh on each occasion; it is evident that there would be a tendency for a regularly recurrent ritual to settle down into a nearly constant form from which the variation would be insignificant and might finally disappear altogether. This apparently happened in the case of a considerable proportion of the rituals used in the services celebrated in early times at the Court of the Mikado, for out of seventy-five such which are enumerated, we find that in the tenth century the precise wording of the rituals is prescribed for nearly thirty, and those undoubtedly the most important of the whole number. Whether they had been committed to writing before the promulgation of the ceremonial laws of the year 927 is not known, but there seems good ground for supposing that some of them at least had assumed their present form much earlier. The praying for harvest is ascribed by Mabuchi to the reign of Kuwaunin (770–82), but his grounds for these dates, as the probable age of the *Norito* in question, are chiefly peculiarities in the use of certain Chinese characters to represent certain Japanese words. Satow seems right in thinking that the *Norito* were already very old when written down, for there are not a few words for which no Chinese equivalents could then be found, and they were written down phonetically instead of translated into Chinese characters.

No. 1, the Praying for the Harvest; No. 2, service of the gods at Kasuga; No. 3, service of the goddess of Food; No. 4, service of the gods of Wind; No. 5, service of the temple of Imaki at Hiranu; No. 10, the General Purification; No. 11, the invocation pronounced by the hereditary scholars of Yamato in presenting a golden sword to the Mikado before the reading of the Ohoharahi; No. 13, to propitiate the gods of pestilence; No. 14, the Harvest Festival; No. 15, the settling of the Spirits in the Sanctuary; Nos. 16–24, services at the temples of Ise; No. 16, the form used at the Praying for the Harvest in the second month, and at the monthly services in

the 6th and 12th months at the Sun-goddess's temple; No. 17, the same form slightly varied to be used on these three occasions at the temple of the goddess of Food, both being read by the Mikado's envoy; No. 18, the Presentation of the sacred clothing at the temple of the Sun-goddess in the 4th month; No. 19, the form used by the chief priest at the temple of the Sun-goddess at the monthly service in the 6th month; No. 20, the service of the Divine Tasting (Harvest Festival) in the 9th month at the temple of the Sun-goddess; No. 21, the same service at the temple of the goddess of Food (this and the last being read by the Mikado's envoy); No. 22, the service read on the same occasion by the chief priest of the temples of Ise; No. 23, service read on the induction of a princess of the blood as priestess; No. 24, ritual for the removal of the goddess to her new temple; No. 25, for the removal of avenging deities; No. 26, offerings made on the occasion of the dispatch of envoys to China; and No. 27, congratulatory address of the chieftains of Izumo.[1]

Kagura. The Japanese have two words for dance, *mai* and *odori*, the former being applied to the more ancient and classical, the latter to the newer and more popular, but no hard and fast line can be drawn between them.[2] Japanese dances to this hour retain their primitive dramatic character, as they consist chiefly in posturing. The dances always represent some story and are not merely arabesques. The oldest dance is the *Kagura* (Fig. 69), the legendary origin of which we have given above (pp. 301–2), and which is a chief feature in the worship of a Shinto shrine. Such dramatic dances are regularly performed at the festival of each local god by Miko (Fig. 69), or virgin priestesses (p. 303), who, after it is finished, bathe themselves with water boiled over a fire kindled with sacred splinters from the temples of Ise.[3] Naturally these sacred dances were and are far more elaborate at the great shrines, such as the temples of Ise, Kasuga near Nara, that of Oharanu near Kyoto, and that of Hiranu, also near the latter city, in the first three cases being in honour of the Mikado's ancestors, and in the last in honour of the four deified personages, who are regarded as the ancestors of the Minamoto, Taira, Takashina, and Ohoye clans, all of whom are related to the Imperial house. The performers wear masks and quaint garments of real or imitation damask. The bearing of these, especially that of Kasuga, on the origin of Japanese tragedy, is all-important.

Stages or open-air theatres for the performance of the *Kagura* were

[1] Satow, *Trans. Asiatic Soc. of Japan*, vol. vii, pp. 103–4.
[2] B. H. Chamberlain, *Things Japanese* (ed. 5), pp. 112–13.
[3] Sir E. Satow, *Trans. Asiatic Soc. of Japan*, vol. ii, p. 114.

a regular adjunct of many Shinto shrines, e.g. three in the province of Ise for the Daijin-gu services, three in Oni for the Hyoshi services, four in Nara for the Kasuga services, one in Kawachi, one in Tamba, and one in Settsu for Supiyoshi services,[1] and at the Hachiman temple at Kamakura (Fig. 70).

Kasuga. Though the temple of Kasuga is many centuries later

FIG. 69. The *Kagura* Dance. Priestess (*Miko*) and Musicians.[2]

than that at Ise, and falls far below it in sanctity, yet for the history of the drama it and its ritual are of supreme importance. It is situated on the flank of a hill, and is surrounded by a wooden arcade, closed on the outside, and pierced by several gateways, the

[1] Capt. F. Brinkley, *Japan: its History, Arts, and Literature*, vol. iii, pp. 21 *sqq.*

[2] The illustration is from Kummo dzu-ye by Nakamura Yosai, 1789. For the photograph from which it is reproduced I am indebted to my friend, Professor W. Gowland, F.R.S., our best authority on Japanese Prehistoric Archaeology.

main entrance being on the south. Inside of this first enclosure is a second one, raised on a terrace, which is likewise surrounded by an arcade with a principal gate in front, to which access is given by two flights of steps. The ordinary layman performs his obeisance in front of this gateway, and only priests are allowed to enter further. There is no oratory (*haiden*), but the four chapels of the gods are ranged in a row, beginning with that of Takemikadzuchi on the right, and then in the following order to the left: Futsu-nushi, Amenokoyane, and the goddess. The buildings are chiefly constructed of wood, painted red, and pictorial decorations have been applied very sparingly, as must have been unavoidable in the case of a temple which used to be rebuilt every twenty years.[1] Its ritual is comparatively modern, being composed for a service first celebrated in A.D. 859, and it contains certain internal indications which support this date.

The earliest book which professes to give any information concerning the foundation of the temple of Kasuga and of the services performed in honour of the gods to which it is dedicated is the *Kuji Kongen*, written about 1422 by a noble named Ichidiu Kaneyoshi, entirely from memory. Its account of the foundation of the temple of Kasuga at Nara, one of the ancient capitals of Japan, is as follows: 'In the year A.D. 767 Takemikadzuchi no mikoto, one of the four gods to whom this temple is consecrated, set out from Kashima in Hitachi, a province in the extreme east of Japan, in search of a dwelling-place. He rode a white deer[2] and carried in his hand a branch of willow, which he used as a whip. In this style he arrived in the department of Nabari in Iga, accompanied by the Nakatomi no murazhi, Tokikaze, and Hidetsura. From Nabari he shortly afterwards crossed over to Abeyana in Yamato, and finally arrived at Mikasa-yama, close to the city of Nara (which, if the date given by Kaneyoshi be accepted as correct, was then the capital of the country) (p. 283). Having found a resting-place that pleased him, he announced the fact to the other three gods, of whom Ihahi-nushi came from Kadori in the province of Shimofusa, Amenokoyane no mikoto from Hirawoka in the province of Kahachi, and the goddess who is named last of all came from the great temple of the Sun-goddess in Ise.[3] In the autumn of the same year, in accordance with a divine command, the Mikado sent an envoy to Mikasa-yama to plant the foundations of the stout pillars of the temple on the rocks which lay deep in the earth, and so manifested due reverence towards the four gods.'

[1] Sir E. Satow, *Trans. Asiatic Soc. of Japan*, vol. vii, p. 401.

[2] This may refer to the riding of reindeer known in parts of North-east Asia.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 393 *sqq.*

FIG. 70. Shinto (Hachiman) Temple, Kamakura.

This story, which the author of the *Kuji Kongen* professes to have derived from the account given by the priests of the temple, explains the goddess to be an emanation from the personality of the Sun-goddess, but Motowori argues with reason that she was in reality the wife of Amenokoyane, or, as we should put it, of the ancient chieftain deified under that title, and that her worship, like his, was derived from the temple of Hirawoka in Kahachi. The whole legend is, of course, a fiction invented by the priests of the temple, at a date long posterior to its foundation in the ordinary way by the heads of the Fujiwara family, who were then all-powerful (p. 287) in the name of the Mikado, in order to produce an effect upon the imagination of credulous worshippers, for it does not bear traces of being a genuine myth. It, moreover, appears to contain some anachronisms; such names as Tokikaze and Hidetsura, formed by combining two separate words, had not come into vogue in Keiun, to which period the migration of Takemikadzuchi is referred. The real name of the man who in 767 founded the temple of these gods at Kasuga was Uweguri Kuhimaro, a member of the Nakatomi tribe, who simply established at this spot the worship of his family gods. Tokikaze and Hidetsura were descendants of his who lived about the middle of the ninth century, when the Fujiwara. who were extremely powerful, chiefly through the marriage ties, which (as we saw) bound successive Mikados to their family, took advantage of their position to introduce an innovation by which the Mikado was made to worship the ancestral gods of his mother as well as his own. The god of Kashima, Takemikadzuchi was one of the gods who, according to the myth, sprang from the blood of Kagutsuchi, the god of Summer-heat, as it dropped from the hilt of Izanagi's sword on to the stones in the bed of the River of Heaven (the Milky Way). He was the ancestor in the fifteenth generation of a family called Yamato no Kahara no Imiki, who belonged to the province of Kahachi. It might have been expected that this family should be his priests. But this is not so. The Daiguuji, or Chief Warden of the temple of Kashima, is, however, descended from Amenokoyane, who here appears in a subordinate position, as one of the Aidono gods or secondary deities of the temple. The Nakatomi tribe and the branch of it called the Fujiwara family came to worship this god Takemikadzuchi as one of their ancestral gods. Hence, when a member of the Nakatomi tribe founded in 767 the little temple of Kasuga in honour of his family gods, he naturally included among them the god of Kashima.

The second of the four gods of Kasuga, Ihahi-nushi of Kadori, in the province of Shimofusa, is identical with Futsushi, as is clear from

a passage in the *Nihongi*. He was worshipped in the shape of a sword. His original shrine at Kadori, like that of Kashima, is very ancient. It is said to date from the 'age of the gods', and a family of hereditary arrow-makers, who claimed descent from Futsu-nushi, is recorded in the Shiyauji roku, as settled in Kahachi, like the descendants of Takemikadzuchi. This Futsu-nushi was evidently an old chief who conquered the peoples of the mountains. 'What clearer proof', says Satow, 'can we have than this legend that he was simply a deified warrior chief? It is worthy of note that both these gods are worshipped in the form of swords, like the War-god of the Scythians.'[1]

It is likely that the third god or hero from whom the Nakatomi were descended took his name from a place called Koya in the province of Tsa, in the department of Kahonobe, which belonged to the chief branch of the tribe even down to the time of Kamatari in the seventh century. It was this Kamatari who took the surname of Fujiwara, the other members of the tribe retaining that of Nakatomi. His youngest brother was the ancestor of the Kannushi (chief priest) of Kasuga. Oho-Nakatomi was adopted as a surname by Omi-maro, the son of a first cousin of Kamatari. The Fujiwara gave up the service of the gods for politics, whilst the Nakatomi still remained in the priesthood, which explains the fact that so many of them were officials of the Jingi Kuwan, or Ministry of Shinto religion.

The temple of Hirawoka, whence the worship of Amenokoyane was brought to Kashima, is situated in the department of Kahachi in the province of the same name. The building does not appear to be very magnificent. A noteworthy peculiarity of the temple is the absence of a *haiden* or oratory, and the worshippers appear to prostrate themselves on the bare ground below a raised terrace on which the chapels are ranged in line. The other three deities there worshipped are Oho-hiru-me (the Sun-goddess), Futsu-nushi, and Mika-dzuchi. Hime-gami, or Lady-god, is the official designation of the goddess in the national records, where she is frequently mentioned, together with Amenokoyane, as receiving some accession of rank and dignity in the divine hierarchy, but always two or three grades below him in rank, which is incomprehensible, if we believe her to have been the Sun-goddess; and the explanation that the Hime-gami is the wife of Amenokoyane is the one which must be accepted.[2]

Here there was formerly a curious practice of divination by means of gruel, made of beans boiled in the presence of the gods. A roll of

[1] Herod. iv. 64.

[2] Sir E. Satow, *Trans. Asiatic Soc. of Japan*, vol. vii, p. 401.

fifty-four tubes of fine bamboo, each inscribed with the name of a kind of seed crop, was lowered into semi-fluid mass, and from the way in which the beans entered the tubes, the priest inferred as to the probabilities of the particular crops being successful or the reverse. The peasants then knew what was best to sow during the year. It is thus the spirits of the dead that are supposed to preside over the crops.

Oharanu.[1] In 790 the capital was fixed at Kyoto, and the Court apparently found it inconvenient to make a long journey of two days and back to the Kasuga shrine near Nara whenever it was necessary to worship the deities there. Accordingly a temple, dedicated to the four Kasuga deities, was founded in 850 at Oharanu, close to Kyoto. The buildings are on an insignificant scale, which shows that the temple was but a mere makeshift. The service was performed twice in each year, on the first day of the monkey in the second and eleventh moons. The virgin priestess of Oharanu carried out a long ceremonial purification before each of the festivals at Oharanu, and also went to Kasuga for the same purpose. When all the sacrificial ceremonies were over and the congregation had eaten the food-offerings in the refectory, the general of the bodyguard next directed some of his men to perform the dance called *adzuma-mahi*, and when they had finished a meal of rice was served to them with much ceremony by the Mikado's cooks. At the command of the Vice-Minister of Religion the harpists and flute-players were summoned to perform a piece of music, called *mi koto fuwe ahase*, 'the concert of Harp and Flute.' The flutes played a short movement alone, and were then joined by the harps, whereupon the singers struck in. An officer of the ministry of religion sang the first few bars, and the official singers finished the piece. This was followed by one of the dances called *Yamato mahi*, performed in turn by the principal priests of the temple, by members of the Fujiwara family, and by the Vice-Minister of Religion himself. After the *sake*-cup had been passed round three times, the company clapped their hands once and separated. The priestess, if at Kasuga, changed her robes for a travelling dress, and returned to her lodging in stately procession as before. A secretary of the Council of State then presented to the Minister of State a list of non-official persons of rank who had attended the service, and the gifts of the Mikado were distributed to them as their names were called out by a clerk, after which everybody adjourned to the race-course and the day was wound up with galloping-matches. Here we once more have a close parallel to the horse-races and other contests at

[1] Sir E. Satow, *Trans. Asiatic Soc. of Japan*, vol. vii, pp. 402–3.

the Olympic and other Greek festivals in honour of Pelops, and other heroes, both historical and legendary.

The *Yengishiki* gives lists of the articles to be supplied at the two festivals of Kasuga, either as offerings or in their preparation. The cost was defrayed chiefly out of the revenues of the temples of Kashima and Kadori, which contributed between them 500 pieces of tribute-cloth, 300 pieces of excise cloth, 600 pieces of commercial cloth, 600 catties of hemp, and 6,000 sheets of paper. These articles were forwarded to the Ministry of Religion and deposited in the Government storehouses. It has to be borne in mind that the ceremonies were in the hands of the Nakatomi and the Fujiwara clans, whose ancestors were the object of the worship, and that these ancestors were also those of the Mikado by the female side. Other offerings were provided at the expense of the several offices of the departments of the Government, e.g. the horses from the Mikado's stables. In the ritual, a mirror, sword, bow, and spear are enumerated among the presents, but as no provision is made in the regulations for furnishing these articles it seems probable that the same sword, bow, and spear were brought out year after year and used, while the mirror was no doubt permanently placed in the temple in front of the gods. It must not be forgotten that in the beginning of the tenth century, when these regulations were drawn up, the practice of the Shinto religion had become a matter of form, and it seems likely that the mirror, until a few years back, in every Shinto temple had then already assumed its place before the shrine. At the service of the Wind-gods at Tatsuta the same saddle was used on the horse-offering year after year until it was worn out.

The ritual in the Kasuga Matsuri runs thus :

'The sovran who is called according to his great word, says in the great presence of the four pillars of sovran gods, namely, dread Mika-dzuchi's augustness, who sits in Kashima; Ihahi-nushi's augustness, who sits in Kadori; Amenokoyane's augustness, and the lady-deity who sits in Hirawoka.'

There is an offering of a mirror, a sword, a bow, a spear, a horse, and cloths of different sorts. Then they arranged in rows 'the first-fruits of the tribute set up by the religious of the four quarters, the things of the blue-seaplain, things wide of fin and narrow of fin (haliotis and sefia were meant), weeds of the offing and weeds of the shore, things of the mountains and the wilds, even to sweet herbs and bitter herbs, as to liquor, raising high the beer-jars, he fulfils the praises of the great sovran deities', and so on.

The ritual of Ohoharanu and Hirawoka are similar to this.

Hiranu (now Hirano). No less interesting than the shrines of Ise, Kasuga, and Oharanu, is that at Hirano, situated close to the village of Kogitayama on the north-east of Kyoto. According to the usually accepted account derived from the *Ko-ji Kongen*, the gods worshipped at the four shrines which it contains are the following: at the Imaki shrine, Yamato-dake-no mikoto: at the Kudo shrine, Chiu-ai Kenno: at the Furuaki shrine, Nin-toku Tenno, and at that of the Hime-gami (goddess), Amaterasu-oho mi-kami (the Sun-goddess). These four deities are regarded as the ancestral gods of the Minamoto, Taira, Takashina, and Ohoye families respectively.[1] The Yamato family were also represented amongst the persons who took an official part in the ceremony.

Mabuchi supposes the first of these four deities (Yamato-dake-no mikoto), to whom the present ritual is addressed, to have been brought from a place called Imaki in Yamato, by Kuwan-mu Tenno, when he founded the present city of Kyoto (796). After Kuwan-mu Tenno founded this temple of Hirano[2] about the end of the eighth century, it became the custom for all the members of the monarchical family to be represented at the two annual celebrations. His own mother belonged to the Yamato family, and his grandmother to the Haji family, from whom were descended the Ohoye. The Taira were sprung from an illegitimate son of Kuwan-mu himself, the Minamoto from his successor Saga Tenno, and the latter had a secondary wife who belonged to the Takashina family. In this way all these five families came to share in the worship of the Mikado's household gods, being either connected with him by ties of agnatic relationship, or, what was not recognised in earlier times, through females.

In the middle of the ninth century the service was performed twice a year in the fourth and eleventh months on the first day of the ape, and nearly the same *Norito*, with slight variations, was read before each of the first three shrines. What ritual, if any, was read before the fourth is unknown. The ceremonies are laid down with great minuteness in the *Yengishiki*, Book I. f. 15. From the fact that the Heir Apparent and several princes of the blood, together with ministers and councillors of State were obliged to take part in it, it is evident that the service was one of great importance in ancient times. As already observed, members of the Minamoto, Taira, Takashina, and Ohoye families were expected to be present on account of their relationship to the Mikado. In some points the ceremonial resembled

[1] Sir E. Satow, *Trans. Asiatic Soc. of Japan*, vol. ix, pp. 183 *sqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 185–7.

that of the Kasuga service already described. Horses were led in solemn procession round the temples, pieces of music were executed on wind and stringed instruments, and a long succession of grave dances were performed by officials of high rank, such as lords-in-waiting and Vice-Ministers of the Department of the Worship of the Gods, as well as by the women who prepare the rice-offerings, and the soldiers who took the part of peasants' *yamabito*. The principal point of difference is that at the beginning of the service these fictitious peasants, twenty in number, entered the courtyard of the temple, carrying branches of the sacred tree, *sakaki* (*Cleyera japonica*), and recited in turn the praises of the four gods (*kami no yogoto*). This incident harmonizes completely with the idea that the deities here worshipped were originally such as would be all-important in the eyes of a peasant, namely those who provide him with his food and the means of cooking it.

It is very interesting to find that the objects of the peasants' veneration were no mere empty abstractions, but the disembodied spirits of the ancestors of the great ruling families. The actual liturgies, however, furnish far more definite evidence in the same direction, even the famous 'Harvest Ritual' itself, used at a festival celebrated on the fourth day of the second month of each year (i.e. vernal equinox) at the capital in the Jingi-kuwan or 'Office for the Worship of the Shinto gods,' and in the provinces by the chiefs of the local administration. At the Jingi-kuwan assembled the ministers of the State, the functionaries of the Office of Religion, the priests, and the virgin priestesses of 573 temples, containing 737 shrines, kept up by the Treasury, while in the provinces the governors superintended in the districts under their administration the performance of rites in honour of 2,395 other shrines. Many gods were worshipped in more than half a dozen different localities at the same time, but exact calculation is impossible.

During the fortnight preceding the harvest festival, two smiths and their men, as well as two carpenters, together with eight Imbe (p. 305), were employed in preparing the apparatus and in getting ready the offerings. The service began at 6.40 a.m. in the large court called the Sai-in, on the west side of which were the shrines of the eight Protective Deities in a row. From the occurrence of eight Protective Deities, eight Imbe, from the fact that the sacred mirror of the Sun-goddess was eight-hand, i.e. octagonal, and that there are eight handles to the boxes in which the sacred mirrors are kept in Shinto shrines, it appears, as has been pointed out by others, that eight is the sacred number of the Japanese, as seven is with the indigenous

population of Southern India.[1] Everything being ready, the ministers, priests, and priestesses, and the rest, took their places ; the offerings were placed on the table, the horses which formed part of the offerings were brought in from the Mikado's stables, and all drew near, whilst the reader, who was one of the Nakatomi, recited the *Norito*. The reading over, the Nakatomi retired, and the offerings were distributed to the priests for conveyance and presentation to the gods of their respective temples, but a special messenger was dispatched with the offerings destined for the temples at Watarahi in Ise.

At some remote period it was the custom to hold a monthly service at every temple or shrine of importance, at which offerings were presented, either in recognition of blessings past or as inducements to the beings there worshipped to confer fresh favours. 'These monthly services were afterwards cut down to two half-yearly services, but still retained their original name of the Tsukinami no Matsuri, or "Monthly Services".'

There is another ritual termed Minadzuki no Tsukinami no Matsuri (No. 7 in the list of the *Yengishiki*).[2] This service was celebrated in honour of the 304 shrines distinguished as great shrines (p. 293), the offerings to which were arranged on tables or altars and not on mats. These shrines formed only a portion of the much larger number at which, as we have just seen, the praying for the harvest was celebrated. According to the *Yengishiki* they were distributed as follows : Kyoto 34, Yamashiro 53, Yamato 128, Kahachi 23, Izumo 1, Tsu 26, Ise 14, and several other places 1 each. According to one view the object of this service was to render monthly thanks to the gods for the protective care they bestowed on the country in response to the petitions offered up at the praying for harvest. It was, however, probably more ancient than the praying for harvest, for the ritual is identical with that of the praying for harvest, with a few small exceptions.

In the ritual of praying for the harvest many gods are addressed who have apparently little to do with the success or failure of the farmer's toil. Hence, Sir E. Satow concludes that the Harvest Ritual is simply the old universal monthly ritual, used at all the Shinto shrines, with a special harvest clause added to it, as this is the only respect in which it differs from the Monthly Service *Norito*. The rest of the ritual, according to Sir E. Satow, dates from a very remote antiquity, whilst the *Nihongi* is less ancient. Who the gods of the

[1] Edgar Thurston, C.I.E., 'The Number Seven in Southern India' (*Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway* (1913), pp. 353–64).

[2] Sir E. Satow, *Trans. Asiatic Soc. of Japan*, vol. ix, pp. 188–9.

harvest were is unknown. Several temples dedicated to such gods appear in the catalogue of the *Yengishiki*, but the names of the gods are not mentioned. Inari, the harvest-god, of whom there are many temples, is not the name of a god, but only the name of a place. The most famous of these shrines is that in the Outer Palace (Geku) of Ise and the deity Uka no Mitama, or 'Spirit of Food', to whom is dedicated the temple of Inari, on the road between Kionato and Fushima. All other temples of Inari, of which there are thousands, are erected in honour of this Spirit of Food and those worshipped with it. It seems, then, as if a certain spirit worshipped originally only at Inari became famous for bringing prosperity, and that the cult of the spirit of Inari became generalized, as in the case of certain personages in India and Burma, as we have seen (pp. 127, 234).

Service of the Goddess of Food. Third in the list of *Norito* stands this ritual. According to the *Riyau no Gige*, or Exposition of Administrative Law, there were two such festivals, the object of which was to cause the waters of the mountains to change into sweet water and to fertilize the young rice-plants so that a full harvest might be reaped. One of these was held at the shrine of Hirose, dedicated to the goddess Waka-uka-no-me; the other at Tatsuta, dedicated to the Wind-gods. We learn from the *Yengishiki* that both services were celebrated twice in each year on the fourth day of the fourth and seventh moons, first when the rice-plant was springing up and again when it was ripe. But this can only mean, as Sir E. Satow[1] points out, the earlier variety called *wase*. The great native scholar Mabuchi identifies Waka-uka-no-me of Hirose with the Food-goddess of the Outer Temple (Geku) of Ise. This personage is called by a multitude of names. The other great scholar Motowori thinks that the *Norito* as it stands is a late make-up by ignorant priests, the old *Norito* having been lost. The chief words of the ritual are as follows: 'He declares the name of the sovereign god whose praises are fulfilled at Kahati in Hirose, declaring her name as the Young-Food-Woman's Augustness (Waka-uka-no-me no mikoto), who rules over the food. He promises firstfruits in autumn to a thousand plants if she gives a good harvest.'

Next in the list (No. 4) comes this service:

Service of the Gods of Wind at Tatsuta. In the *Yengishiki* are two entries of temples at Tatsuta in the Heguri department of the province of Yamato; the first containing two shrines to Ameno mi hashira and Kuni no mi hashira, or 'famous gods', and ranking as greater shrines (p. 293) entitled to take part in the Tsukinami no Matsuri,

[1] *Ibid.*, vol. vii, p. 412.

or so-called monthly services, and in the Nihi-namo, or Harvest Festival; the second, a smaller temple, containing two shrines dedicated to Tatsuta hiko and Tatsuta hime, 'Youth and Maiden of Tatsuta.'

The first of these is evidently the temple at which this ritual was used, and it exists to this day on the same spot at a village called Tatsuno. Other temples to the gods of Wind are in the Naka department in the province of Idzu, called Kuni no mi-hashira no jha jhinzjiya at Yamada, in Ishikaha in the province of Kahachi, and there is also a temple of the god of Wind in the grounds of the Sun-goddess's temple in Ise.

In the *Kojiki* only one Wind-god is mentioned, but the ritual shows two Wind-deities, male and female, who are called first 'Heaven's Pillar and Country's Pillar', and are afterwards known as the Youth-deity and the Maiden-deity. Their names apparently are Shinatsu hiko, the name of the male, and Shinatobe that of the female, god of Wind.

There seems no doubt that the worship of the Wind-gods was not ancient, but set up by a Mikado, Tennu Tenno, in the seventh century (673–86). In the *Nihongi* we have the positive statement that in the fourth year of his reign (676) he 'sent two persons from the Court to worship the Wind-gods at Tatsuno in Tatsuta, and two others to worship Ohoimi no jami (the goddess of Food) at the bend of the river in Hirose', the meaning of which is probably that the temples of the Wind-gods and the goddess of Food were then founded at these places. Neither this ritual (Wind-gods) nor the Food-goddess ritual appears to belong to the oldest of these compositions.

It is interesting to note that we have in this ritual a legend (for it is nothing more) of the way in which the winds first came to be worshipped. During a succession of years violent storms, such as even now frequently visit Japan in the autumn and do considerable damage to the ripening rice, had destroyed the crops, and after the diviners had in vain endeavoured to discover by their usual methods who were the workers of the calamity, the gods revealed themselves to the sovereign in a dream and directed that temples should be raised in their honour and certain offerings made to them. The offerings demanded are of course such as would be acceptable to human beings, it being beyond the power of insight of the first worshippers of the unseen to suppose that the beings whom they dreaded and desired to propitiate would wish for anything different from the articles usually offered at the graves and shrines of departed ancestors, i.e. whatever was most useful to mankind itself in that primitive age.

The ritual gives a full account of the bad storms which injured the crops, the failure of the diviners, and the Mikado's own dream; the desire of the Wind-gods for a temple at Tatsuno, and for their praises to be fulfilled there, in which case they could grant good seasons. The offerings for the Youth-god are things suited for a man, those for the Maiden things suited for a woman—golden thread-box, a golden *tatari*, a golden skein-holder, and the like.

From the facts here set out it seems plain that in early days the Japanese did not rely for prosperous harvests and food supplies upon abstract entities, such as the Vegetation spirits, and Corn spirits, or the Daemon of the Year, but upon their own ancestral spirits, those of the local chieftain families or those of the Mikado (amongst whom was reckoned the Sun), worshipped in the ancient temple (Naiku) of Ise; and that it was at a comparatively late period when, owing to storms and other natural phenomena, the land had been from time to time devastated by disastrous famines, such as that which at this present moment[1] is compelling thousands of Japanese parents to sell their daughters into slavery, they began to offer special prayers for good harvests and abundant supplies of food to particular deities. But these deities were not regarded as mere abstractions, but rather as particular disembodied spirits, as we have seen in the case of Inari, the Food-goddess of Hirose, and of the Geku of Ise, and the Youth-god and Maiden-goddess of the Winds at Tatsuta, as well as other such Wind-personages elsewhere. We may therefore safely conclude that with the Japanese, as in other cases, the concrete and the particular came first in their religious development, and that it was later and then but imperfectly that they arrived at any generalized beings, who presided over the harvest and food.

If an examination of the chief festivals in the modern Japanese calendar should show that at this moment, in spite of the influence of Buddhism in past centuries and the Europeanizing of the country in our own day, the Japanese rely for harvest and other blessings not on Buddha or Vegetation spirits, but on ancestral spirits, we should have clinched the arguments drawn from the ancient shrines and rituals. The Japanese have now adopted the Western calendar and start the year on January 1:[2] their own calendar was lunar, and their New Year's Day fell in the middle of February. March 21, the vernal equinox, is the spring festival of the Imperial ancestors, supposed by some to be an adaptation of the Buddhist *higan* or

[1] *The Times*, Dec. 28, 1913.

[2] B. H. Chamberlain, *Things Japanese* (ed. 5), pp. 159–64.

equinoctial festival of the dead. But from what we have already seen, festivals in honour of the dead existed in Japan centuries before the birth of Gautama.

June 22, the summer solstice, is of course observed as one of the more important festivals.

July 13–16 is the great so-called Buddhist festival of Bon, known to Europeans as the ' Feast of Lanterns ', but as Professor Chamberlain points out, it would be more fitly termed All Souls' Day, as all through Japan there is a general honouring of ancestral spirits. This is the most critical season for the harvest, as the peasants consider the third of the Dog-days the turning-point in the life of the crops. At this festival is celebrated the Bon Odori dance, which takes place all over provincial Japan. ' It is believed ', writes Professor Chamberlain, ' to have a Buddhist origin, though its meaning is far from clear.' But once more it is plain from what we have learned that the belief in the existence of disembodied spirits is the very essence of Shinto, and accordingly this great festival of All Souls must be regarded as pre-Buddhist, though overlaid with Buddhism after the incoming of that faith. The details of the dance vary from village to village, but its general feature is a large circle (cf. p. 182) or wheel of posturing peasants, who revolve to the notes of the song sung and the flute and drum played by a few of their number in the middle. Kyoto and Tokyo, being too civilized for such rustic exercises in which all share, do their dancing by proxy. There and in the other large towns the dancing-girls (*geisha*) form a class apart. While one or more of the girls dance, others play the *shamisen* and sing the story.'[1]

September 23 is the autumn festival of the Imperial ancestors. October 17 is the offering of the firstfruits to the Shinto gods, i.e. deified ancestors; whilst on November 23 the Mikado tastes the firstfruits offered to his ancestors.

From these facts it is clear that neither spring festival nor autumn festival nor midsummer festival, nor the great dance at the critical period of the crops, nor the autumnal equinox, is in honour of any abstract Vegetation or Year Daemon. No less clear is it that the firstfruits are neither offered to nor are eaten in honour of such personages. The evidence of Japan is therefore in direct opposition to the theories of Sir James Frazer, Miss Harrison, Mr. Cornford, and Professor Murray.

[1] Chamberlain, *op. cit.*, p. 113; for Japanese dances cf. H. L. Joly, ' Random Notes on Dances, Masks, and the Early Forms of Theatre in Japan ' (*Trans. Japan Soc. of London*, 1912, pp. 29 *sqq.*).

The Japanese Drama

The Japanese theatre claims our special interest, not merely because it is the only place left where the life of Old Japan can now be studied, but still more so for the light that it throws on the origin and development of the dramatic art in general.

Let us first say a word about its modern conditions.

Theatres.[1] The theatres fall into two classes—the *no* theatres and the *Shibai* or *Kabuki*. In the former, representations of *no* or serious dramas are still given. There is no scenery, but a large 'Sacred' pine-tree, doubtless representing the *mitegura* (p. 300), is painted on the back wall; the dresses are magnificent, and the actors (Fig. 72) wear masks.[2] The audiences are composed chiefly of noble men and ladies.

The *Shibai* (from 'Shiba', grass plot) were and are the theatres of the shopkeepers, artisans, and common people, and in these are performed comedies and farces. But it is worth remarking that in Japan, as in Greece, comedy as a form of literature was later than, and dependent upon, the serious drama and tragedy. It has been supposed that this popular drama, like the *no*, was derived from the mimic rites of the *Kagura*, which when performed by Uzume before the cave made all the gods laugh (p. 302). Another conjecture, which derives it from a comic drama, *Sarugaku* (p. 327), introduced from China, seems more reasonable. 'But, historically speaking,' writes Professor Lloyd, 'it is of much more recent date.'[3] The common people had no part in the performances of the *no*, and the *Shibai* were started to meet their needs. The date assigned as the birth-year of these plays is 1603. The founder of the *Shibai* was Okuni, whose husband, an ex-Samurai, helped her to modify the *kyogen*, comediettas used to lighten up the *no* to suit the popular taste. The new departure met with immediate popularity; actors of both sexes were freely employed, the women belonging almost entirely to the prostitute class. The moral effect of the *Okuni Kabuki* or *Okuni theatre*, as it was called, was so bad that in 1629 the Shogun forbade the employment of women actors.

But it is difficult to believe without very positive evidence that the common people had no sort of dramatic performances during all the preceding centuries. It is more likely that there were rude and

[1] B. H. Chamberlain, *Things Japanese* (ed. 5), p. 462.

[2] For a full account of the masks worn in the ancient dramatic dances from which sprang the *no*, cf. H. L. Joly, *op. cit.*, pp. 45 *sqq.* with figs.

[3] Arthur Lloyd, 'Notes on Japanese Drama' (*Trans. Asiatic Soc. of Japan*, vol. xxxv, pp. 106–8); this paper is by that classical and Sanskrit scholar, my friend the late Rev. Arthur Lloyd, M.A., Professor in the University of Tokyo, sometime Fellow and Dean of Peterhouse, Cambridge. H. L. Joly, *op. cit.*, pp. 55 *sqq.*

gross comedies of a very primitive type, in which there was a chorus and one actor, whose duty was to direct the movements of the rest, as in the *ai no kyogen*.

The *Kabuki* are amply provided with scenery and stage properties of every description, including a revolving centre for the stage, which enables a second scene to be got ready while the first is in course of acting. On the conclusion of the latter the stage pivots round, carrying with it scenery and actors, and something quite fresh appears instantly, a device which recalls the *periaktos* or revolving machinery for changing the scene in the ancient Greek theatre.

Actors. The actors of the stately *no*, in which there was never anything gross or unseemly, were at all times treated with honour, and indeed personages of the highest rank not infrequently took part in them. As soon as we trace to its source the origin of the *no*, the reason for this will be evident. On the other hand, comic actors who played in the *kabuki* under the old régime were regarded as outcasts, as is still the case with actors generally in China (p. 274), whilst the very theatres in which they appeared were looked upon as unfit for respectable people. Since the revolution of 1868 actors are ostracized no longer. In 1886 there began a movement among some leaders of Japanese thought to reform the stage, on the European model, but, like the similar effort in India, without result.

Although the founders of the popular theatre were two women, Okuni and Otsu, after 1629 males alone were allowed to act. The parts of women were immediately taken by boys, but public morals suffered still more, and the Government had to issue stringent regulations for boy actors, until in 1652 a number of theatres in Yedo were closed.[1] In modern times female parts are regularly taken by boys as in our own pre-Restoration drama. Conversely, in some inferior theatres all the parts are taken by women. Lately the restriction has been relaxed and mixed companies sometimes appear.[2]

Puppet-Plays (*Ayatsuri Kwairaishi*). In consequence of the difficulties caused by the prohibition of women- and boy-actors, a new dramatic form, the puppet-play, with its offspring, the shadow-play, which, as we have seen, has played so important a part in India, Java, Malaysia, Siam, Cambodia, and China, came to the front in the seventeenth century and retained its popularity for many years.[3] In this *ningio shibai* the speaking took the form of a dialogue which is read with musical intonation to the music of the

[1] Lloyd, *op. cit.*, p. 109. [2] B. H. Chamberlain, *Things Japanese* (ed. 5), p. 464.

[3] Lloyd, *op. cit.*, pp. 109–10; H. L. Joly (*op. cit.*, pp. 55 *sqq.* with figs.) describes the puppets, and gives the legend of their invention to honour the spirits of the dead.

FIG. 71. Japanese girls dancing, with comic masks.[1]

[1] For the photograph from which my illustration is taken, as well as for much other help in this section, I am indebted to my friend, Professor James Mavor, of Toronto University.

shamisen, an instrument introduced in 1678. Some of the best playwrights wrote plays for the puppet-shows and the *kabuki* actors borrowed from the marionettes many of their most popular pieces, which were distinguished into Historical (*jidai mono*) and Comedy of Manners (*sewa mono*), corresponding to the Chinese division into military and civil dramas.[1]

The Origin of the No. It is obvious that we are here chiefly concerned with the origin of the *no*, or tragedy. All writers seem agreed that the Japanese serious drama is an indigenous production, although more or less influenced at a later date from China. We have had from the earliest times evidence of the *matsuri*, or Shinto festival, at the shrines of the dead, with its offerings, its liturgy (*Norito*), and its dramatic dance (*Kagura*), itself always the chief element in Shinto worship. 'It is not till 671 that the *Nihongi* speaks definitely of a *ta-mai*,[2] or rice-field dance (*mai*), as having been given in that year, though during the succeeding centuries the *ta-mai* is often mentioned as the sacred dance of the rice-harvest.'

Apparently Lloyd refers to the passage in the *Nihongi* (*sub* 671) which runs :

'5th month, 5th day. The emperor occupied the Little Western Palace. The Prince Imperial and all the Ministers attended on him at a banquet. On this occasion rustic dances were twice performed before him.'[3] The date indicated would fall about the middle of July, which, as we saw, is the occasion of the Bon Odori dance in honour of the ancestors everywhere, immediately preceding the most critical time for the rice-harvest. But we have seen above that the services for the harvest were not carried on at one particular spot, but all over the country, to propitiate the various deified heroes and heroines, and thus to procure a good crop.

Furthermore we have found that a great modern festival and dance is held on the Japanese All Souls' Day, and that this dance is performed in every village all over the country down to the present hour, on the three days preceding July 15, which is regarded as the most critical time for the harvest. This festival, termed the Odori, is that known to Europeans as the 'Feast of Lanterns'. There is therefore no longer any doubt that the rice-field dance is directed towards the spirits of the dead. 'By the beginning of the eleventh

[1] My friend Professor Hamida, of Kyoto University, tells me that there is still at Osaka a theatre wholly devoted to puppet-plays.

[2] Arthur Lloyd, 'Notes on the Japanese Drama' (*Trans. Asiatic Soc. of Japan*, vol. xxxv, pp. 99 *sqq.*).

[3] The *Nihongi*, translated by W. G. Aston (*Trans. Asiatic Soc. of Japan*, Supplement I (1896), vol. ii, p. 296).

century', according to Professor Lloyd, 'it had become a well-established popular pantomime, with a Chinese name, *dengaku*, which is but a translation of its original title (*ta-mai*). In 1096 Oe Masufusa, in his *Ira Rakuyo Dengakki*, speaks of the celebration of these *dengaku* festivals in terms which remind us very vividly of the Grecian Bacchus festivals.' But it seems likely that, along with the Chinese name, there had come in a new element which had given to the old sacred dance this orgiastic element. 'In the middle of the ninth century', writes Professor Lloyd, 'the sarugaku or Chinese dance (*sangaku*), a comic drama, was added to the *dengaku* pantomime, which was always more or less solemn and decorous.' Its object was to move the audience to laughter by comic acting and posturing, whence comes the popular but false etymology of sarugaku as the 'monkey-dance'. When dialogues were added after the Chinese pattern to the lyrical dramas of the *dengaku*, the new *genre* of stage-writing was popularly styled *sarugaku no no*, 'the high art piece of Chinese art.'

As we have seen above (p. 309), there were theatres or dancing-places attached to many Shinto temples for the performance of the *kagura*. According to Brinkley,[1] 'the *dengaku* stages were only a modification of the *kagura* stage, one of the differences being the addition of a bridge with a steeply-arched roadway, on which the acrobats commenced their feats as they emerged from the orchestra room' (Fig. 72).

'The most flourishing epoch of the *dengaku* pantomine', writes Lloyd,[2] 'is given as the middle of the thirteenth century. They were acted by persons who, from their name of *dengaku-boshi* and their shaven crowns, seem to have belonged to the clergy. That was the Golden Age of the Chinese drama, which, as we saw, reached its full development under the Mongolian domination (A.D. 1206–1368). It is therefore not surprising that the middle of the thirteenth century should have seen a marked step in the evolution of the Japanese lyric drama. The interval between 1206 and 1250 was a period of great and frequent intercourse between Japan and China. Many travellers, especially monks, visited the Celestial Empire for purposes of study, and it was in Nara, the favourite residence of monks, that from 1260 to 1300 we get the *sarugaku no* plays. These dramas retained the essential lyrical character of the earlier *dengaku*, the lyrical element being increased by additions from the lyrical portions of the *Monogatari*, the working up of the Japanese *uta* and *shi*, various dances, such as *kuse-mai* and *shirabyoshi*, and monologues and dialogues from the already mentioned *Monogatari*, or histories of the heroes.'

[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 21.

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 99 *sqq.*

Hence ' the *no* may be looked upon as an *opera* of primitive character, in which the sung portions of the libretto are the principal elements, the spoken portions being looked upon as of secondary importance '. This may be seen in the fact that the written text of these dramas is called in Japanese *utai*, in Sinico-Chinese *Yokyoku*, ' piece for singing.' ' The *Yokyoku* were always of a serious character, and rather epic than dramatic. The personages are generally passive rather than active, the sport of external influence over which they have no control rather than themselves the makers of their own destinies. There are therefore but few dramatic situations, and in places where we should expect action we get instead lyric odes on the situation. The pieces are very short, mostly one act only, without divisions into scenes. In some plays we have a quasi-division into acts, the first act showing the hero in an assumed, the second in his proper and natural character. There are also one or two more lively pieces, such as *Funa-Benkei* (Fig. 72), which have a very vigorous swing in them.' [1]

Whilst Professor Lloyd believes that the Japanese *no* was largely an outcome of Chinese influence, Captain Brinkley,[2] on the other hand, thinks that a comparison between the Japanese and Chinese dramas reveals differences rather than affinities. When it has been said that both arose from a union of dance and song, their points of resemblance have been practically exhausted. The singing actor, the principal figure of the Chinese drama, found no counterpart in Japan ; the religious element in the other country's art is often mere buffoonery, whereas in the latter it is always reverent ; there was no chorus in China, neither any open-air stage, and the Chinese never made between tragedy and comedy the sharp distinction which the Japanese drew. The Japanese drama also stands in sharp contrast to that of India, for, as we have seen, the Hindus, like the Chinese, dislike tragic conclusions, and accordingly their dramas were usually melodramas with a happy ending, whereas the Japanese love the truly tragic end.

There can be little doubt that the *no* theatre arose out of the old *kagura* dancing-stage attached to Shinto temples, for it must be remembered that the *no* were regularly performed at Shinto shrines. The old *kagura* chorus, which included the musical instruments, remained, but first one actor seems to have been added, who recited, and later another, when the means of dialogue were thus attained.

The similarity between the *no* and Greek tragedy has often been pointed out—the chorus, with its sacred song and dance, the masked actors, the stage in the open air, and the religious tone pervading it.

It will have been noticed that under the influence of the close

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 100–1.

[2] *Op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 34.

resemblance of the Japanese drama and its origin to the Greek, Lloyd and all other writers on the subject, as far as I know, assume that the *no* arose out of the ancient solemn *kagura*, the analogue of the Dithyrambus, through the *dengaku*, when it had been given a highly comic character, just as it was generally assumed that the serious Greek tragedy arose out of the grotesque and gross Satyric drama. Just as the Greek scholars also assumed that a process of purification of the Satyric drama gave us the lofty and decorous

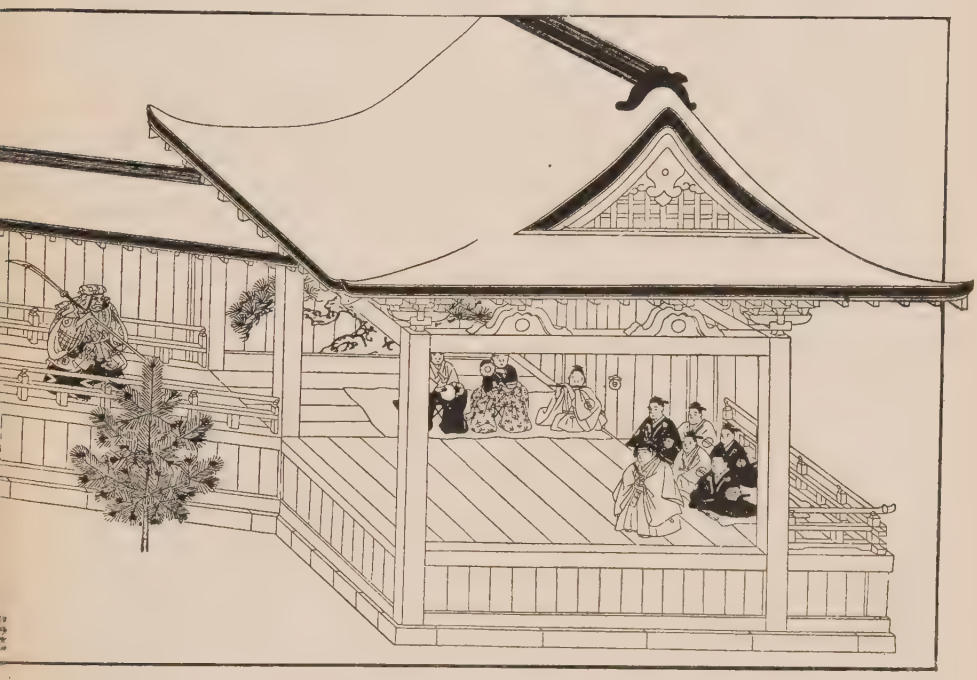

Fig. 72. Scene from a Japanese *no* drama : 'Benkei on the bridge.' [1]

tragic diction, so their Japanese brethren have assumed a like process in the evolution of the noble and moral *no*. But just as it turns out that the Greek tragedy proper arose out of the sacred dances in honour of dead heroes long before the cult of Dionysus came from Thrace, and that at no time were gross and grotesque compositions performed in their honour, so, too, were there two distinct lines of dramatic evolution in Japan. No one can question the incoming from China of a comic drama which got admission combined with

[1] The illustration is from 'The History of the Empire of Japan', compiled and translated for the Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893. For the photograph from which it is reproduced I am indebted to my friend, Professor W. Gowland, F.R.S.

native elements in the *ta-mai* dances. But at no time was there any breach in the continuity of the stately and solemn dances performed in the great temples at Kasuga, Ise, Oharanu, and Hiranu. If Japanese history makes it clear that in one of these temples the full-grown *no* had its birth, the truth of my hypothesis will be evident. On the other hand it may also turn out that the comedy of manners, whose home is the *Kabuki* theatre, is the lineal descendant of the *dengaku* and the *sarugaku*, the so-called 'monkey-mime'. Professor Lloyd himself evidently felt this difficulty, for he writes: 'It is not accurately known[1] at what precise date the *no* drama shook itself free from its original connexion with the *kagura* dances of the Shinto temples. There is a tradition, which is not, however, universally accepted, that the Emperor Gosaga (A.D. 1243–6) found in the Imperial Library a collection of sixteen dramas dating from the reign of the Emperor Murakami (A.D. 947–67), and gave them to the family of Emai, who were at that time the guardians of the Kasuga temple at Nara in Yamato. Doubts have been thrown on this tradition, but the fact remains that the *no* as we now have them were originally based on more primitive forms known as *kuse*, and that these primitive elements may still be recognized embedded in the *no*. The development of the *kuse* into the *no* seems to have taken place during the reign of Yoshimitsu, the third of the Ashikaga Shoguns (A.D. 1368–94), and to have been due to the simultaneous and apparently independent efforts of several families of playwrights and musicians, among whom may be reckoned the Emai mentioned above, the family of the Yusaki, afterwards known as Kwanse, and to three members of it in particular, Kwanami, Seami, and Onami. Throughout the Ashikaga Shogunate the Kwanse family (p. 332) took the lead as the expounders of the *no* drama. There were also other families, such as the Komparu, Hosho, and Kongo, but it is noticeable that all these descend from the religious musicians of the Kasuga shrine at Nara.'

A consideration of the following facts will point to the conclusion which has been above suggested: (1) the Kasuga temple and its ritual were in honour of the Mikado's ancestors; (2) the ritual for the shrines in which the preceding facts are contained had already a fixed form in the tenth century, since it stands second in the list in the *Yengishiki*; (3) it was in this century that Murakami reigned, to whose period Japanese tradition assigns sixteen dramas handed over to the guardians of the Kasuga temple in 1243–6; (4) in the

[1] *Trans. Asiatic Soc. of Japan*, vol. xxxv, pp. 99–112 ('Notes on the Japanese Drama').

ninth century the Chinese comic drama, *sarugaku*, had influenced the popular dances for the rice-harvest held all over the country; (5) it is not impossible that from it, if not from within, the first steps had already been taken to develop the *kagura* at Kasuga into something like real drama, by adding perhaps one actor, as we shall find to have been the first step in the *kyogen*, or comediettas, added later to lighten up the sombre *no*; (6) the importance of the lyrical element down to a late period points to its lineal descent from the old *kagura*, with its dance and song forming a close parallel to the Dithyramb of the Greek tragedy, whose leader formed the first step towards a regular actor, and in which, down to the time of Aeschylus, who added the second actor, the chorus was still the all-important element; (7) the purity and freedom from all grossness, not only of the *no* dramas themselves, in which they are in sharp contrast with the early Japanese prose writings, but also the *kyogen* or farces added to them at a later period, point to their not having been evolved from the comic *dengaku* or *sarugaku*, with its addition, a comic drama borrowed from China, as the Satyric drama was borrowed by Greece from Thrace, but rather all through, from the primitive *kagura* to their full development, to have been solemn, moral, and free from grossness.

Lloyd well points out that although there are extant more than 200 *no*, all of which are familiar to the ordinary *no* audience, in no single case is the original author's name preserved, and this, even though in most cases the musical composer's names have survived. The *no* dramas may in this respect perhaps be compared with the Miracle Plays and Mysteries of mediaeval Europe.

The No Actors (Fig. 71). We have seen that it is likely that, as in Greece, first one actor was added to the chorus, and later a second. This is confirmed by the designations of the actors in the fully-developed *no*. These are (1) the *Shite*, or Protagonist, (2) the *Waki*, or Deuteragonist, both of whom have their proper places assigned to them on the stage. But neither the Tritagonist nor the fourth actor has any special name, the former being termed *Shite-tsure*, 'Assistant to the Chief Actor,' and the latter *Waki-tsure*, 'Assistant to the Second Actor.' There is also found in *no* dramas a *Kokata*, or child actor, often used to play the part of emperors or noblemen, 'an arrangement which', says Professor Lloyd,[1] 'seems to take us back to the days of puppet-emperors, puppet-shoguns, puppet-regents, and the extremely vigorous military classes of the early Middle Ages of Japanese history.'

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 103.

The *no* were based on popular stories or ballads, which were common property, and each succeeding generation of actors felt himself at liberty within certain limits to expand or modify until, as in the case of the Shadow-plays of India (p. 164), a generally satisfactory result had been finally evolved, and it was no longer possible to say by whom the piece had originally been composed.

Captain Brinkley [1] gives a translation of a famous *no* written by Kwanze Nobumitsu (*circ.* 1485). Its title is *Ataka No.* It is based upon the fate of the brilliant and chivalrous General Yoshitsume, brother of the famous Minamoto chieftain Yoritomo, who, as we saw, overthrew the rival Taira clan in 1185, established a military government at Kamakura, and became the first Shogun (p. 288). One of the guard-houses at Ataka is the scene of the drama and gives it its name. He remarks on the universal tone of pessimism which pervades all the *no*.

'Born in an Imperial Library, nurtured by musicians connected with the more than aristocratic shrine of Kasuga, the *no* has always remained the special privilege of the higher and military classes. Taiko Hideyoshi and Tokugawa Ieyasu were not only constant spectators, but frequent actors of *no* dramas. Many a daimyo had his local *no* stage for the solemn performance of these quasi-religious plays, and *no* actors were held in honour. But the *no* was practically the monopoly of the higher classes and there was only one day in the year on which the common people were allowed to view it.'

All these singular phenomena here so admirably summarized are at once explained when we bear in mind that these *no* had sprung out of the *Kagura* held periodically at the Shinto temples in honour of the dead. The dead thus honoured were frequently the ancestors of the local nobles, and it is therefore but natural that they should have kept up the performances of *no* as part of the family rites. This being so, there was no reason why the ordinary populace who had no immediate connexion with the personages worshipped in the shrines should be allowed to take part in what was really family worship. Finally, why *no* actors were respected, and why great princes took part in such performances is now clear. They naturally participate in what was one of the chief methods of honouring and propitiating the spirits of their ancestors.

Kyogen. As interludes between the *no-yokyoku*, which are at times wearisomely pompous, we get the *kyogen*, or comic pieces, which serve the same purpose as that of the Satyric drama, which came at the end of a complete Greek trilogy. *No* and *kyogen* are acted on the same stage, but never by the same actors. The *no* actors wear masks (Fig. 71),

[1] *Japan : Its History, Art, and Literature*, vol. iii, pp. 34 *sqq.*

the *kyogen* are never masked, neither is there any musical accompaniment to the dances there given. Though these dances themselves are the same, the style of execution is different. In the *no* the dances are solemn and ceremoniously performed; in the *kyogen* the gods, as it were, have unbent, and are refreshing themselves by having a good time. The *no* relates the misfortunes of heroes, the early deaths of heroines; the *kyogen* represents the contrasts between the gay and grave which we so often find in human life. It is very seldom that a *kyogen* piece is acted by itself. In the *Ai no kyogen* there is no special drama at all; the actor, who has a special seat assigned to him, merely explains the general meaning of the dance or pantomime. The *kyogen* actors can always be distinguished by their yellow *tabi*, whilst the *no* actors wear *tabi* of white.

'It is in the *kyogen* that we get the true pictures of the social and national life of the Ashikaga period (1338–1597). It was a period of high ideals, with a few great men towering above the rest and bearing witness to the priestly holiness and knightly bravery of an age gone by. These are brought before us in the *no*. But it was also a period of mediocre performances; the country swarmed with contemptible and ignoble lords and knights who disgraced their swords, and priests who disgraced their religion. Mingled with these were dreamy scholars, who were incapable of managing their money matters, and innocent country-people who were the sport of every designing rascal. In the 250 *kyogen* pieces which remain to us, all these persons are held up to kindly ridicule and to derision, from which all the sting seems to have been taken.' They jest at the nobles, the clergy, the blind and the maimed, whilst the themes of others are conjugal troubles and thief stories.

The plots of the *kyogen* were never complicated. Brinkley[1] gives examples of these plots, one of which may here be cited: Three men set out on a pilgrimage, agreeing that under no circumstances will they quarrel during their travels. Two of them shave the head of the third when he is asleep. When he awakes and finds what has happened, he forgets his promise, loses his temper, and turns homeward. But *en route* he conceives a plan of vengeance. He goes to the wives of his comrades, tells them that their husbands have been drowned in crossing a ford, and that he has shaved his head and become a monk in order to pray for the repose of their souls. He induces the women also to shave their heads and become nuns. He carries away their hair and shows it to his fellow travellers as proof of the death of their wives, and thus persuades them also to shave their heads and abandon

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 49 *sqq.*

the world. Brinkley also gives a translation of a farce of the fifteenth century, entitled *The Three Cripples.*

Our survey of the religious, social, and political history of Japan has led inevitably to the conclusion that the *No* or serious drama is the lineal descendant of the ritual which from remote ages had been used in the Shinto temples to propitiate the spirits of the dead in the hope that they would vouchsafe all kinds of blessings to their descendants and worshippers, and especially that of abundant harvests. Thus the drama of Japan, like those of the other civilized peoples of Asia, affords the strongest corroboration of our view that Greek Tragedy arose out of the worship of the dead. Indeed the development of the true drama out of the *Kagura* dance at the Kasuga temple in honour of the Mikado's ancestors offers a singularly close parallel to the Greek tradition that their own dramatic art by the genius of Epigenes made its first step towards true tragedy from the cult of King Adrastus at Sicyon.

But there is another important point on which not only the Japanese *No*, but the dramatic performances of other Asiatic peoples described, throw considerable light. In Manipur, not only does the *thilakapo*, like the Roman *mimus*, personate the dead man, but he is actually regarded as the residence of the soul for the time being; in other words, he is a medium, such as are the actors who personate the Burmese *Nats*, the boy who in the old Chinese ancestral ritual personated the dead parent or forefather, and the Shinto priestess in the *Kagura*, who is the medium of the hero-god, while the Brahmans who personate the gods in a Hindu drama are considered to be the gods for the time being. These facts point to the conclusion that the actor was originally the medium of the dead man or woman, and this will be amply substantiated by the evidence from the dramatic performances of savage races. In my *Origin of Tragedy* [1] I pointed out that Thespis used white masks, very unsuitable to Dionysiac subjects, but well adapted ' for the representation of heroes, whose ghosts might be supposed to appear from their tombs like that of Darius in the *Persae* . . .', and I also suggested that a performance which Solon would have regarded as fit and proper when enacted at a hero's tomb not unnaturally roused his anger against Thespis when the exhibition was merely for sport, as Thespis himself said (and doubtless also for profit), and not at some hallowed spot, but in any profane place where an audience might be collected. If the earliest Greek actor was really a *medium* like those just cited, we can well understand Solon's anger and horror.

[1] pp. 89 and 61.

XI. THE DRAMATIC DANCES OF THE RACES OF THE INDIAN AND THE PACIFIC OCEANS, AUSTRALIA, AFRICA, AND AMERICA

In the foregoing pages we were able to trace the rise of dramatic performances from the worship of the dead. In Assam there is the dramatization of a dead individual at his or her funeral rites by some one who resembles and who is dressed like the deceased (as was also the case in ancient Rome): though amongst the Chins we did not find any such dramatic performance, yet it was clear that the shaman invokes the spirits of the dead of the village, and that they offer the firstfruits to the ancestors; amongst the civilized Burmese there is the dramatic personation by a medium or shaman of the spirits of important historical personages, whilst there is the strongest evidence that the dramas of China and Japan originated in like manner in the worship and impersonation of the dead. If it should turn out that amongst numerous living tribes, some even in Asia itself, but more especially in the great islands of the Indian and Pacific Oceans, in Australia, Africa, and America, there are primitive practices closely resembling those of the animistic peoples of India, Burma, China, and Japan, and forming the most essential part of their religious rites, though in some cases now but semi-religious, whilst in others, as in ancient Greece, mediaeval England, in certain cases in modern India, Burma, China, and Japan, they have been detached from sacred shrines and have become mere theatrical performances to amuse the populace; if on investigation it should also turn out that the objects towards which such dramatic performances are directed are not mere abstract entities, such as the Vegetation Spirit, or the Corn Spirit, or the Daemon of the Year, or the Struggle between Winter and Summer, but rather human ancestors or other disembodied spirits, and if, further, the masks worn on such occasions by the dancers or pantomimists represent the spirits of the dead ancestors, then we shall have proved to the full for the whole world that tragedy and other serious drama arose in the reverence for and a propitiation of the dead.

Again, if in the course of our search we shall find that initiation ceremonies at the time of puberty, so common in many parts of the world, are frequent concomitants of these dramatic performances directed towards the ancestral and other spirits, and that a main feature of the initiation ceremonies is the introduction or presentation of the youths to the ancestral spirits, we shall have proved that these dramatic performances do not primarily spring out of initiation rites,

but that the latter are mere secondary phenomena which have attached themselves to the dramatic performances belonging to the dead, even in the very funeral rites, as in the case of the ancient Romans, Tangkuls, and other tribes, and we shall have thereby demonstrated that the doctrines of Sir James Frazer and Albrecht Dieterich, and their followers, Miss J. E. Harrison, Professor G. G. Murray, Mr. F. M. Cornford, and their follower, Mr. Pickard-Cambridge, must be summarily rejected, inasmuch as their fundamental assumption—that all such dramatic performances were first directed to some abstraction—is directly controverted by an induction based on a large series of facts carefully ascertained and recorded by observers and writers, not one of whom had in mind any theory of the origin of Greek Tragedy.

In his admirable work on *Primitive Secret Societies*[1] Dr. Hutton Webster has collected a mass of valuable evidence respecting one of the most important phases in the evolution of human society. He has traced the part played in primitive communities by the separation of the sexes, the institution of the Men's House, the great stress laid upon the age of Puberty when Youth passes into Manhood, and the consequent establishment of a novitiate and initiatory ceremonies in which are comprised fasting and various ordeals before boys are admitted to the status of warriors and careful instruction in the traditions of the clan or tribe and its religious and magical beliefs and ritual. This education is frequently conveyed by means of dramatic or pantomimic performances.

The initiatory ceremonies in many cases comprised the supposed death and rebirth of the candidates, a feature upon which Miss Harrison and her collaborators, as we have seen, have laid much stress in their theory of the Dithyramb and of the origin of Greek Tragedy, though still more frequently we shall find them bound up with the worship or propitiation of the spirits of the dead ancestors of the community. Obviously it is of great importance to discover whether the belief in the existence of the spirits of dead ancestors and the dramatic personation of such is prior or secondary to the rise of initiation ceremonies. Should it prove that the candidates are, as it were, introduced to or placed under the protection of these spirits, the natural inference must be that the belief in and cult of the spirits of the dead are more primitive, and that the initiation ceremonies and the doctrine of the death and rebirth of the initiated are secondary to them.

[1] New York, 1908 (Macmillan & Co.). In a new edition a full index would be a great improvement.

Finally, Dr. Webster [1] thinks it possible ' to disclose in the rites of the *Eleusinia* and *Thesmophoria* the dimly veiled survivals of an earlier and a ruder age ', and he holds that ' the magical practices and dramatic ceremonies, afterwards elaborated into the ritual of a solemn religious cult, which were the chief characteristics of the Greek mysteries, may be traced by the curious student to primitive rites in no wise dissimilar to those which, as we have seen, embody the faith and worship of the modern savage, *omnia exeunt in mysterium* '.[2]

But our survey of the evidence (pp. 33 *sqq.*) has proved that it was in the cult of the dead that the worship of Demeter and almost all other Greek deities originated, and that the mystic rites of initiation which figure so largely in the later period are merely secondary phenomena.

Among the many puerilities accompanying the course of instruction in these tribal ceremonies we certainly find much that is of practical value to the novices, much that is truly moral, much that evinces a conscientious purpose, to fit them for the serious duties of life. This instruction is imparted during the seclusion of the candidates, a period which may last for months and even in some instances for years. Obedience to the elders or the tribal chiefs, bravery in battle, liberality towards the community, independence of maternal control, steadfast attachment to the traditional customs and the established moral code, are social virtues of the highest importance in rude communities. Savage ingenuity exhausts itself in devising ways and means for exhibiting these virtues in an effective manner to the young men so soon to take their place as members of the tribe. Some of the initiatory performances are even of a pantomimic nature, intended to teach the novices in a most vivid fashion what things they must in future avoid. In this respect the rites are often equivalent to an impressive morality play. But the only examples Dr. Webster cites are not at all convincing. ' At the *Kuringal* of the Coast Murring, an Australian tribe, such performances have at first sight a very immoral appearance, being presented apparently on the principle of *similia similibus curantur*.'

The *kabos*, or guardians, talk to each other in inverted language, so that the real meaning of their words is just the opposite of what they say. The lads are told that this is to teach them to speak the straightforward truth. Various offences against morality are exhibited, and the guardians warn the novices of their death or of violence should they attempt to repeat the actions they have just

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 189–90. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 48.

witnessed. At the Kamilaroi *Bora* there would be ' many obscene gestures for the purpose of shocking the young fellows ; and if the latter had shown the least sign of mirth or frivolity, they would have been hit over the head with a *nullah nullah* by an old man appointed to watch them '.[1] Some of these Australian performances, it is true, are made at the expense of the novices and are designed merely to provide amusement to the spectators—features which seem to be retained and developed in the initiatory rites of much more highly civilized peoples.

The instruction received by the candidates during their initiatory seclusion covers a wide range of topics. Among the Australians it is at this period that the very complicated laws relating to class and totemic divisions on which the marriage system rests are brought to the attention of the novices, and of these Dr. Webster gives numerous examples.

After this general statement let us now pass on to details.

The Men's Hut. The place of initiation or instruction very frequently is the ' Men's Hut ', which has various names amongst different peoples, such as *Marai*, amongst the Polynesians. In many cases these special houses can be shown not only to be shrines in which the spirits of ancestors are venerated, but, as might have been expected, to be the burial-places of chiefs and other important persons. In such respects these modern savages do not differ much from the ancient Greeks. Thus in the Prytaneum, which represented the Men's Hut or council chamber at Megara, there were the graves of two old chiefs, whilst their old council chamber had once been the grave of an ancient king, and they even built a new council chamber in order to include within it a number of heroes' graves, that their spirits might be present at the city's deliberations.[2] Moreover, even in communities where there are no separate ceremonial houses, the ancestors are supposed to be present at the initiation of the youths.

Dramatic and Pantomimic Dances and Masks. The Men's Hut or like places are normally the scenes of dramatic or pantomimic dances, in which the performers wear masks, and it will be seen as we proceed that these dances are in honour of the spirits of the dead, who are represented by the wearers of these masks. Such performances thus coincide with the ancient Chinese and Japanese pantomimic dances held in their ancestral temples.

[1] R. H. Mathews, *Journ. and Proc. Roy. Soc., New South Wales*, vol. xxviii (1894), p. 121.

[2] Paus. i. 42. 4 ; 43. 3.

The Death and Resurrection of the Novice. Miss Harrison and her collaborators lay great stress on the death and resurrection of the Year Daimon, the Zagreus-Dionysus, Adonis or Osiris (now admitted by Sir James Frazer to have been a real king), and as they seek to support their views by citing the dramatic performances at the initiation ceremonies of savages, we shall incidentally as we advance deal with this question along with that of the Men's Hut.

Frequently initiation rites include a mimic representation of the death and resurrection of the novice. The new life to which he awakes after initiation is one utterly forgetful of the old; a new name, a new language, and new privileges are its natural accompaniments.

The initiatory rites of the Kakian society in the island of Ceram (lying between Celebes and New Guinea) take place in the lodge of the organization, which also serves as the mysterious abode of the *Nitu Elak*, under which name the first ancestor of the tribe is worshipped. Before leaving the village for the Kakian house the novices take the last farewell of their female relatives and sweethearts. They do not expect to see them again, for they are told by the priests of the society that Nitu Elak will take the *Nitu* (spirit) out of their bodies only to restore it after the priests have prayed the god long and fervently. In the lodge, which is kept perfectly dark, their blindfolding is removed, and they are then tattooed and smeared with powder. The boys sit on benches, crossways, with their hands in the air, as if they were about to receive something. The priests then take a bamboo flute, the lower part of which they put in the hands of the boys and shout through the instrument all sorts of noises imitating the voice of the Nitu Elak. The novices are threatened with death unless they fulfil all the rules of membership and keep everything that happens in the lodge a secret from the uninitiated. Before they leave the lodge, the priests give the boys a stick ornamented with cocks' and cassowaries' feathers as a certificate from the Nitu. On their return to the village they are required to fast for three days, and for a long time they must act as if still possessed by the Nitu. They may not speak, their walk is wobbly and uncertain, and their actions in general betoken those of madmen. It is patent that the essence of this initiation is the admission of the boys to the cult of a dead chief. In some cases it is possible that the neophytes are really hypnotized into believing that they have died and come to life again. In any event the simulation is very well carried out, as for example in the case of the Ceram ritual just cited.

Australia. In Australia, where all the aboriginal tribes are totemists, it can be shown that the essentials of their religious and social life depend on their belief in the spirits of their ancestors. But as is now fully admitted, certain tribes in the central and northern portions of the continent have a form of Totemism very different not only from that known in other parts of the world, such as America, but also from that held by the other tribes of Australia itself. It is upon this peculiar type of Totemism that Sir J. G. Frazer and Professor Baldwin Spencer base their theory of the origin of that phenomenon. Whilst in general amongst totemic peoples marriages are strictly regulated according to the totems of men and women and the totem of the child is fixed by that of either parent, amongst the Arunta of Central Australia and their cognate tribes, neither is marriage regulated by the totems, nor does the totem of a child necessarily follow that of either parent. For not only may both parents have the same totem, but the child may have a different one from either. 'The totems', writes Professor Baldwin Spencer,[1] 'are strictly local, but we have what we may call local centres of any one totem in various districts of the wide area over which the Arunta tribe is scattered. . . . The whole past history of the tribe may be said to be bound up with these totemic ceremonies, each of which is concerned with the doings of certain mythical ancestors who are supposed to have lived in the dim past, to which the natives give the name of the "Alcheringa". In the Alcheringa lived ancestors who in the native mind are so intimately associated with the animals or plants, the name of which they bear, that an Alcheringa man of, say, the kangaroo totem, may sometimes be spoken of as either a man-kangaroo or as a kangaroo-man. The identity of the human individual is often sunk in that of the animal or plant from which he is supposed to have originated.'

The Alcheringa men were located in various spots all over the country now occupied by their descendants. Each Alcheringa ancestor is supposed to have carried about with him one or more of the sacred stones termed *churinga* by the Arunta natives, and each of these is intimately connected with the idea of the spirit part of some individual. At each local totemic centre a certain number of the Alcheringa ancestors went into the ground, each carrying his *churinga* with him. His body died, but some natural feature, such as a rock or tree, arose to mark the spot, while his spirit part remained in the *churinga*. Many of the *churinga* which they carried with them were placed in the ground, some natural object again marking the

[1] Spencer and Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 119.

spot, with the result that the whole country is dotted over with local totem centres (*Oknanikilla*). One example will make the matter clear. 'Close to Alice Springs is a large and important witchetty grub totem centre, or *Oknanikilla*. Here there were deposited in the Alcheringa a large number of *churinga* carried by witchetty grub men and women. A large number of prominent rocks and boulders and certain ancient gum-trees along the sides of a picturesque gap in the ranges are the *nanja* trees and rocks of these spirits, which, so long as they remain in spirit form, they usually frequent. If a woman conceives a child after having been near to this gap, it is one of these individuals which has entered her body, and therefore, quite irrespective of what the mother's or father's totem may chance to be, that child, when born, must of necessity be of the witchetty grub totem; it is, in fact, nothing else but the reincarnation of one of the witchetty grub people of the Alcheringa.'[1] Their belief in the occupation of rocks and trees by disembodied spirits is thus identical with that of the Burmese (pp. 232 *sqq.*) and numberless other peoples, including the ancient Greeks and Romans, and thus helps to elucidate the problem of the sacred tree at Nemi.

But not only do the soul of the child and its totem depend upon the fundamental assumption of the existence of the ancestral spirits, but in the great ceremonies for the initiation of the boys and for the purpose of producing by magic abundant supplies of the various animals and plants on which the natives subsist, the Alcheringa spirits are all-important. Thus the Engwura ceremony, which forms the last of the initiatory rites through which the Arunta native must pass before he becomes what is called *Urliara*, or a fully-developed native, admitted to all the most sacred secrets of the tribe, consists of a long series of ceremonies, the enactment of which occupies in all more than four months. These are connected with the totems, which, as we have seen, are inseparably bound up with the Alcheringa ancestors, and are performed under the direction of the old men, who instruct the youths both how to perform them and what they represent.[2] Again, each local totemic group has its own *Intichiuma* ceremony, which has for its object the increasing of the number of the animal or plant after which the totem is called. Each one is held at a time fixed by the Alatunja, under whose direction it is carried out. But as the *Intichiuma* are closely associated with the breeding of the animals and the flowering of the plants with which each totem is respectively identified, they are most naturally held at a certain season. These ceremonies consist in the case of the

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 124. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

witchetty grub totem,[1] which may be taken as typical, in dramatizing the actions of Intwailiuka, the great leader of the Witchetty grubs in the Alcheringa. After some preliminary preparations in the camp, on the following morning the party begin to pluck twigs from the ancient gum-trees at the mouth of the Gap, the *nanja* trees of the ancestral spirits, of which we spoke above (p. 341). Every man carries a twig in each hand, except the Alatunja, who carries nothing save a small wooden trough. Walking in single file, led by the Alatunja, they follow the path traversed by the celebrated Intwailiuka, until they come to a shallow cave high up on the western wall of the Gap, in which there is a large block of quartzite surrounded by some smaller rounded stones. The large mass represents the adult witchetty grub, the small ones its eggs. After the Alatunja has performed certain rites, and they have sung an invitation to the grub to lay eggs, they descend to the bed of the creek in the Gap and stop under the rock where in the Alcheringa Intwailiuka used to cook, pulverize, and eat the grub. Near this spot, too, the great ancestor used to stand while he threw up the face of the rock numbers of *Churinga unchima*, which rolled down again to his feet. Accordingly the Alatunja does the same with some of the *churinga*, which have been brought from the store-house close by. After performing various other ceremonies at certain spots, they return to the home camp.

There can be no doubt that the essential part of the performance is the dramatization of the way in which their ancestor obtained his supplies of witchetty grubs, and that it affords the closest parallel to the sacred dramatic rituals of the Veddas of Ceylon, when, in order to secure a deer, they dramatically go through the procedure by which the famous hunter Kande Yaka killed the deer (p. 211). In the initiation ceremony a new name is given to the novice, and this name is part of the general dramatic features of the rite. The secret name of an Arunta is known only to the fully initiated men of his own local group. It is never uttered except during the solemn ceremony of examining the sacred *churinga* at the initiation rite.

Let us now pass on to some of the other tribes of Australia. When boys of the Dippil tribes of Queensland receive their new names there is a special ceremony to impress the sacredness of these upon them. Some of the elders secrete themselves in the tops of trees, and as the new names are pronounced all the men in charge of the boys utter a great shout, which is answered by those in the tree-tops, giving the novices the impression that ancestral spirits are

[1] Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.*, pp. 171 *sqq.*

hovering about in the air.[1] Eyre noticed that the Murray River boys, from the time of being seized, closed their eyes and pretended to be in a deep trance until the process of depilation was over.

'Among the Australians', writes Dr. Webster,[2] 'great pains are taken to make the women and children believe that the initiation of the lads is really the work of the tribal gods. At the *Burbong* of some of the Murrumbidgee tribes, just before the novices are taken into the bush, the women who have been spectators of the preliminary ceremonies are led to the encampment where the boys are confined. Here they are required to lie down and are carefully covered so that they can see nothing of the proceedings. Bull-roarers are then swung, and a terrific thumping sound is made by the men, who beat the ground with pieces of bark. The women believe that the noise is caused by the trampling of an evil spirit who has come to remove the boys. The sound of the bull-roarer is his voice. Amid all this din the boys are led quickly away. Women of the Coast Murring tribe are told that it is *Daramulun*, who knocks out the teeth of the novices: those of the Murray River tribe, that the novices meet *Thrumalun*, who kills them and afterwards restores them to life. Among some Queensland tribes the women believe that the sound of the bull-roarer is the noise made by the wizards in swallowing the boys and bringing them up again as young men.'

Novices of the Koom-banggary tribe of New South Wales have their hair singed off their heads 'to make the women believe that they have been burned by the evil spirit and have just emerged from the fire'.[3]

New Guinea[4] furnishes some interesting examples. An Elema lad of ten years of age is secluded in the *eravo* or Men's House. He is taught to make arm-bands and dancing ornaments.[5] He knows that he is going to take a very important step in his life—his introduction to the mountain god Kovave. Shortly after he begins his course, the forerunners of Kovave, who are young men hidden by masks and long draperies of grass, appear in the village. Their arrival is followed by a period of considerable anxiety for the women and the uninitiated males, the latter being mostly men or boys of illegitimate

[1] R. H. Mathews, *American Anthropologist*, N. S., ii (1900), p. 144.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 99.

[3] R. H. Matthews, *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.*, vol. xxxvii (1898), p. 65. Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 39, gives other examples.

[4] Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 101; Rev. J. Holmes, 'Initiation Ceremonies of the Natives of the Papuan Gulf' (*Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Institute*, vol. xxxii (1902), pp. 418 *sqq.*).

[5] C. G. Seligmann, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, p. 260.

birth, who are not eligible for initiation. Their exclusion seems to indicate that the ceremony is the cult of an ancestor with whom they are not properly connected. The masked men are sacred. Formerly death was the penalty for an attempt on the part of the uninitiated to identify them. It is even claimed that they are gods, and ' as proof of their deity, the native sage remarks that they do not need to walk on the soles of their feet as mortals have to do, but that they hop about, as is characteristic of gods '. This statement supports strongly our conclusion drawn from the Asiatic dramas that the actor was originally a medium.

For ten days or more the turmoil continues. The masked men prance about in the streets, at night the bull-roarers are whirled, and the like. Vast quantities of food are collected by the women, and on the announcement of the approach of Kovave it is carried away into the bush. At nightfall the novices, each accompanied by his father or male guardian, are led into the depths of the forest and brought before Kovave. The mountain god delivers an impressive address to the terrified boys, promises to be their friend if they obey the elders, but threatens the most direful penalties in the shape of disease and death should they disclose any of the secrets, and so forth.[1]

Originally, as we have seen, at the initiation ceremonies youths were solemnly inducted into the religious mysteries of the tribe—mysteries which, though not unattended by many devices of a fraudulent nature, did nevertheless maintain themselves by a real appeal to the religious aspirations of the candidates.[2] But with the advance to the secret society stage the religious aspects become more and more a pretence and a delusion, and serve as a cloak to hide mere material and selfish ends.

The power of the secret societies in Melanesia and Africa rests entirely upon the belief, assiduously cultivated among outsiders, that the initiated members are in constant association with the spirits, evil spirits especially, and with the ghosts of the dead. The connexion of the societies with the worship of the dead is everywhere manifest.

Melanesia. In all the Melanesian societies the ghosts of the dead are supposed to be present, and the same is true in Africa, in both cases the masks representing the dead.

The various dances, the use of masks, bull-roarers, and similar devices serve to facilitate this assimilation of the living and the dead, and to endow the members of the societies with the various powers attributed to departed spirits. Such conceptions as those above set forth, existing in a crude and undeveloped form in the most

[1] Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 102. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 104.

primitive mysteries, have expanded rapidly in those of the Melanesian and African peoples, and serve to explain many of the phenomena connected with them. Dramatic and magical ceremonies connected with the secret societies have been observed in New Guinea and Torres Straits. Among the Toaripi tribes of British New Guinea the maskers appear to be in the service of *Keva-kuku*, to whom the first-fruits of the harvest belong, and in honour of the goddess there are great festivals celebrated in secret by the men who compose the organization. That this goddess was once an ancestress is rendered highly probable, not merely by many analogies, but by the fact observed by Mr. Wilfred Beaver,[1] that with all the West Papuan tribes not only is the cult of the skull very important (as is usual in New Guinea), but at times a Kiwa will dig up his father's or mother's skull and appeal to it for advice or aid respecting his crops.

The Elema tribes of the Papuan Gulf believe that 'the spirits of those who met a violent death from the hands of a murderer or from a crocodile roam about constantly and are frequently seen near their former abode. Those spirits which have been expelled from their human existence by the violence of murder are said to be always a source of annoyance to the murderer. Those which are fated to wander because they were killed by a crocodile often reside in the crocodile that ate their former body. These spirits are sometimes seen by their relatives as bright firelight in the eyes of these particular crocodiles, but only by such relatives as have the special kind of eye to see apparitions. These spirits are said to be most malicious and to attack whom they will. This they do in all manner of ways; sometimes they use sticks and flog people unmercifully; at other times they creep in when every one is asleep and sprinkle icy cold water on the sleepers' feet, arousing them in a fright and preventing them from sleeping again that night. When a spirit becomes a nuisance, the people whom he troubles wait for his return and then take a canoe and paddle away up the river or creek, the spirit following. They leave the canoe and get into the bush, where he gets bewildered, as his crocodile-affinity cannot find its way about the bush; the crocodile spirit now being lost in the bush, the party who came out to lay it ultimately return to the village and are not troubled by it again'.[2]

This belief respecting the destination of the souls of those devoured by crocodiles seems identical with that of the Burmese regarding the

[1] Kindly communicated in a letter dated Oct. 6, 1914. See his second letter, p. 397.

[2] J. Holmes, 'Notes on the Religious Ideas of the Elema Tribes of the Papuan Gulf' (*Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Institute*, vol. xxxii (1902), pp. 428–9).

condition not only of those eaten by tigers, like the tea-trader *Nat* (p. 250), but also of those who have fallen victims to crocodiles. But it is not merely the spirits of those who have become the prey of savage beasts that are supposed to pass into animals and plants. Amongst some of the peoples of the East Indian Archipelago [1] the crocodile is especially venerated, being styled *Tuwan-besar* ('great lord'), and is regarded as equal in rank to the Dutch Resident. They are considered kindly and protective beings (as they were in one ancient Egyptian nome), the killing of whom is murder, for they may be even a man's near relations. Offerings are made to them, and people look forward to the great blessedness of becoming crocodiles when they die. The Sumatrans likewise worship tigers, whom they call ancestors (*nenek*), whom their countrymen will not catch or wound except in self-defence, so that when one has been trapped they try to persuade him that it has not been their doing. In the Solomon Islands, when a man is dying, he will often tell his relatives [2] the particular tree or animal into which he intends to transmigrate. This is not pleasant news, should the tree selected be one of the most fruitful, as for instance the banana, for henceforth the produce is tabooed to the family, a fact which confirms the view already put forward (pp. 16–17) that trees become sacred by the supposed indwelling of a disembodied human spirit. Another man may elect to pass into some particular insect. Dr. Codrington [3] relates that a native will suddenly cry, 'There goes papa,' at the same time pointing to a butterfly or bird, and if possible will offer him a young coco-nut. In other islands, for example Florida and Melanta, a man will often declare that after death he will be seen as a shark.[4] Now, as the Solomon Islanders, like the Papuans, are undoubtedly totemists, the facts here cited, which could be largely multiplied,[5] clearly indicate that not only may the fear or reverence for certain animals or plants depend upon the primary belief in the immortality of the soul, but totemic beliefs in general are based on the same conception. Further proof of this has been given in treating of the Australian evidence.

In some of the islands of Torres Straits elaborate dramatic cere-

[1] G. A. Wilken, *Het Animisme bij de Volken van den Indischen Archipel* (1884–5), Pt. I, pp. 74–5. Tylor summarized Wilken's views, *Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Institute*, vol. xxviii (1898), pp. 146–7. Cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough* (ed. 2), vol. ii, p. 435.

[2] Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 32–3.

[3] *Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Institute*, vol. xxviii (1898), p. 147 (citing a letter from Mr. Sleigh, of Lifu).

[4] Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 33.

[5] Dr. W. H. R. Rivers, F.R.S., *The History of Melanesian Society*, vol. ii, pp. 364–5.

monies formerly existed. At Pulu the *Kwod*, or Men's House, was the scene of an important funeral ceremony or death-dance, called the *Tai*. This was an annual rite in honour of tribesmen recently deceased. No woman or uninitiated man was allowed to witness it. The chief of the *Tai* was a cult-hero called *Waiat*, who, according to the folk-tales, came from Daudai (British New Guinea). He was represented by a wooden figure of a man without eyes or ears. The *kernge*, or novices, were not allowed to see this representation, as it stood in the square house in the *Kwod*, for ' *Waiat* belonged solely to the elder men '. The chief performers, their heads covered with leafy masks, represented the ghosts of the recently deceased tribesmen. The *Tai* presents the elements of an organized dramatic entertainment, in which the performers appeared in regular order and imitated the characteristic gait and actions of the deceased, recalling once more the mummer who imitated the gestures of the dead at a Roman funeral, the *Thilakapos* of Manipur, as well as the mediums of Burmese *Nats*, of Chinese ancestors, and of Japanese Shinto gods. The underlying idea of the ceremony was to convey to the mourners assurance that the ghost personated by the dancer visited his friends. The women, who did not know the identity of the dancers, believed them to be really ghosts. Various magical ceremonies were also practised by the Torres Islanders. At Mabuaig the *Dangal* clan had a magical ceremony performed in the *Kwod* for the purpose of compelling the dugong to come towards the islanders and be caught. At Mabuaig also it was customary to hand over the first turtle caught during the turtle-breeding season to the *Surlal* clan, who performed a ceremony over it in their own *Kwod*. The rite was intended ' to make him (all the turtle) proper fast ', i. e. copulate and thus ensure a good turtle season. While there was no attempt at secrecy during the performance, it is noteworthy that no women or children or members of other clans were present. The clansmen wore a cassowary-feather head-dress and danced round the turtle whirling bull-roarers.[1]

Thus the Melanesian evidence, though scanty, is sufficient to bring the secret societies in this region into line with those in other parts of the world, and here, as elsewhere, the decline of the important social functions connected with the societies results in the expansion of their magical and dramatic characteristics.

In the Bismarck Archipelago, lying east of New Guinea, from which it is separated by Dampier Strait, and in the Papuan Gulf (Fig. 73), the *dukduk* is a spirit which assumes a visible and presumably tangible form and makes its appearance at certain fixed times. ' In

[1] Webster, *op. cit.*, pp. 161–2.

FIG. 73. *Dukduk* Mask, Ilema Island, Papuan Gulf. Height, 16 ft. 10 in.; breadth, 7 ft. 2 in. (British Museum specimen.)

the former, its arrival is invariably fixed for the day the new moon becomes visible. It is announced a month beforehand by the old men and is always said to belong to one of them. During that month great preparations of food are made, and should any young man have failed to provide an adequate supply on the occasion of its last appearance, he receives a pretty strong hint to the effect that the *dukduk* is displeased with him and there is no fear of his offending twice.'[1] In view of the statement that the *dukduk* usually belongs to one of the old men, and from what we have learned of the ownership of ancestral shrines and temples in India, China, and Japan, it looks as if the *dukduk* may be a family spirit of the owner, but this point needs careful investigation.

The performances of the *dukduk* are supposed to possess some medical efficacy. When a chief or some other person of importance is ill, *dukduk* ceremonies, lasting about a week, are performed. In New Britain, called by the Germans New Pomerania, it is far less of a 'law-god' society than in New Hanover. In the former island it now figures chiefly as a dramatic organization. The members give dramatic representations in which two masked figures, the *dukduk* and Tubuvan, his wife, are the leading actors. The preparation of the costumes occupies many days. When all is finished the *dukduk* and Tubuvan travel from village to village and perform before their appreciative native audiences. Some of the festivals occupy an entire month. An obvious parallel to the *dukduk* and his wife is afforded in North Bougainville, where the tribal society is associated with two spirits, *Ruka tzon*, the male, and *Ruka tahol*, the female, spirit.[2]

The chief and most widespread Melanesian society—the Tamate—derives its name from *tamate*, 'ghost' or 'dead man', the term also applied to the mask of each society.[3] Florida societies have charge of periodical sacrifices and feasts connected with vegetation cults.[4] Ceremonies devoted to the propitiation of the various Tindalos, who preside over vegetation, are given 'to inaugurate the time of eating the firstfruits of certain trees'.[5] As Dr. Codrington[6] has shown that the *tindalos*[7] are the spirits of the dead, it is clear that as amongst Chins, Burmese, Chinese, Japanese, and the Kiwa

[1] Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

[2] Parkinson, *Abhandl. d. Kgl. Zoolog. und Anthrop.-Ethnogr. Museums zu Dresden*, vol. vii (1899), no. 6, p. 11.

[3] W. H. R. Rivers, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 127.

[4] Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

[5] Penny, *Ten Years in Melanesia*, p. 69.

[6] *The Melanesians*, p. 249.

[7] Dr. W. H. R. Rivers (*op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 76) states that in Florida the term *tindalo* is also used for the masks, *Matambala*, of the ancient secret societies of Florida.

tribes in New Guinea, ancestral spirits are considered to control the crops.

That these *tindalos* were the spirits of dead chiefs is rendered highly probable by our next citation. In Fiji the *Nanga* enclosure, where the initiatory rites were held, served also as a temple for sacred ceremonies. There the ancestors of the tribe were supposed to dwell, and in their honour every year solemn feasts were held and the firstfruits of the yam-harvest were presented to them. No man might taste of the new yams until this presentation had been made —a circumstance which at once recalls the offering of firstfruits to their ancestors by the Chins of Upper Burma (p. 230).

The *tindalos* are supposed to possess *mana*, a term which plays a large part in the theories of Dr. R. R. Marett,[1] Miss Harrison,[2] and her partners, being regarded as something distinct from a soul or ghost. 'Spirits and ghosts are apt to possess *mana*, but all ghosts do not possess it, only those that are specially potent *Tindalos*.' But there seems no reason for regarding *mana* as something absolutely distinct from or antecedent to the belief in the existence of souls after death (pp. 48–51). Its explanation seems to lie in the fact that those ghosts who are supposed to possess it were powerful and important persons in life, just as in other countries and in other creeds the power of working miracles or giving protection does not belong to all dead persons, but only to great warriors, saints, and the like.

Some of the Banks Island societies are now mere dramatic organizations. Their members appear in the villages at frequent intervals, to dance and exhibit their masks and costumes. The *Qat* is the great dancing society common throughout these islands. Neophytes are instructed in a very difficult dance requiring months of practice. The *Qetu* and *Welu* of the New Hebrides still survive as dramatic societies. The mysteries concern only the construction of the *Qetu* figures and the manner of the *Qetu* dance.

Polynesia. In the *Areoi*, a society which, though best known at Tahiti, seems to have extended throughout the Polynesian area, as far as Hawaii, it is possible to discover the existence of a magical fraternity possessing great interest and importance. Dr. Webster thinks that the apparently contradictory accounts respecting it can 'be explained on the theory of its development from a secret society of the Melanesian model. Its great antiquity seems evident, not only in the mysterious regard accorded to its members as being themselves the very representatives of the gods on earth, but also in the legend of its foundation by *Oro*, one of the principal Polynesian

[1] *Threshold of Religion*, p. 122. [2] *Themis*, p. 67.

divinities. As in the Melanesian societies, the membership included both the living and the dead, for once an Areoi always an Areoi. Before a candidate could be received for membership he must have given evidence of being inspired by the gods '.[1] Here once more we have clear proof that the primitive actor is regarded as a medium. His stay in the lowest grades was prolonged until he had mastered the songs and dances and the dramatic representations. His reception into the sacred ranks was always made the occasion of a great festival, at which he received a new name. The distinctive grades had their distinctive marks indicated by tattooing and painting.

' As a dramatic and magical organization, the Areoi celebrated the mysteries of *Oro*, its divine founder and protector. As bards and scalds the members chanted in their hymns the life and actions of the gods and the wonders of creation. Every December the first-fruits of the harvest were offered to *Oro* in a great festival held at Tahiti. This festival was paralleled by those held in the Marquesas Islands every October to celebrate the return of Mahoui, the Sun, to the world. These festivals, lasting until April or May of each year, were held in the *Marais*, or Men's Houses. Some of the dramatic representations were regularly constructed and could be repeated with but little variation as the actors travelled from island to island. A company on landing would present at the *Marai* a pig as a thank-offering. But this gift also served as a hint that they expected food and accommodation. In most of the islands spacious houses were provided for this purpose. In this manner members of the associations obtained an easy livelihood.

The early voyagers often describe the imposing *marais*, or *maraes*, as the temples of the people. They served as places of sepulture for important members of the community. On their altars human sacrifices were offered. These altars were always placed in some retired spot in the heart of gloomy woods. The ceremonies connected with the *Marais* took place at the approach of twilight, and only the initiated had the right of practising the mysteries. The sanctity of the *Marais* on such occasions was preserved by the imposition of the death penalty for intrusion. During funeral ceremonies all the uninitiated inhabitants were obliged to keep to their houses, or at least to remain at a considerable distance from the place where the priests were making their prayers. One of the principal celebrants was dressed in the *parai*, ' vêtement mortuaire ', consisting in part of a huge mask hiding the head. The appearance of the priest dressed in the *parai* was the signal for all the uninitiated to take flight.

[1] Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

At least in some cases the *marais* were occupied by the Areois.[1] In the *Whare Kura* of New Zealand, the Maoris had a priestly society presenting striking likenesses, so far as our information extends, to the *Areoi*, and similar fraternities of other Polynesians.[2]

In proportion as the secret societies are compelled to abandon their social functions, which too often degenerate into a means for wholesale intimidation and robbery, the dramatic ceremonies associated with such organizations often survive the downfall of their other privileges. This phase found in the Melanesian dancing society and to some extent in the Polynesian *Areoi*, is repeated in West Africa. In that region dramatic dances at initiation and other ceremonies in which the performers wear masks (Fig. 74) are widespread.

West Africa. 'The chief masquerader of the African societies is usually a personification of the *manes* or spirits of the dead.' *Ukuku*, the name of a society in the Benito region, signifies a departed spirit.[3] Among the Yorubas, Egungun is supposed to be a man risen from the dead. Every June a great feast is held in his honour, in which there is a general lamentation, not for the 'Daemon of the Year', but for all those who have died within the year, which reminds us of the *genna* of the Tangkuls of Manipur,[4] of the *Tai* or death-dance of Pulu in the Torres Straits, and of the *Bon* festival of Japan. According to Baudin[5] Egungun and his companions always pay their respects to the relatives of a man recently deceased and receive messages for him. To the important part still played by Egungun at Sierra Leone we shall soon refer (p. 354). Amongst the Quollas the dead are regarded as being still members of a secret society called *Ekongolo*. At the dances and festivals in honour of a dead man belonging to the order of *Ekongolo*, masked members of the order appear and dance about for nine days. Then Ekongolo returns to his house in the wood, but the family of the deceased must pay him at his departure.[6] I am here enabled to show (Fig. 74), by the kindness of my friends Mr. E. Torday and Mr. T. A. Joyce, masks used by the Bushongo tribes of Belgian Congo, and for the most part figured and described in their splendid volume[7] published by the Belgian Government, but in some cases from photographs not there used. These comprise the masks of the Bapende initiation ceremonies

[1] Webster, pp. 167–8.
[2] *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 170.
[3] Mary Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, p. 540.
[4] A. B. Ellis, *The Yoruba-Speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, pp. 107–8.
[5] *Fetichism and Fetich Worshippers*, p. 61.
[6] Buchner, *Kamerun*, p. 26.
[7] *Notes ethnographiques sur les peuples communément appelés Bakuba ainsi que sur les peuplades apparentées les Bushongo* (Bruxelles, 1910).

Fig. 74. African Masks. 1 and 2, Initiation masks (Bapende); 3 and 8, Bombo masks (Bushongo, Kasai, Belgian Congo); 4, Mashamboy mask, back view (Bushongo); 5 and 6, Shene Malula masks (Bushongo); 7, Gari Moashi masks (Bushongo).[1]

[1] For the photographs from which these are taken I am indebted to the never-failing kindness of my friend Mr. T. A. Joyce.

(Nos. 1 and 2); Bombo masks,[1] which are commemorative (Nos. 3 and 8), used by the Bushongo, Kasai; the Mashamboy mask (No. 4);[2] the Shene Malula (Nos. 5 and 6), connected with the Bapende society; and the Gari Moashi (No. 7).[3] They also give[4] an interesting legend regarding the origin of masks as a whole, collected by Mr. Torday among the Bagongo, an eastern tribe of Bushongo containing a foreign element of Basongo Meno.

In West Africa the secrecy of the orders in many cases is of the thinnest sort. Their main purpose appears to be by their rude dramatic representations to provide a little amusement for an unbelieving populace. The religious society has become a mere theatrical troupe.

The Simo of French Guinea affords a good illustration of this degeneration of a tribal society from an originally powerful organization devoted to the interests of the people through an intermediate stage of brigandage and rapine into a mere band of dancers and actors deprived of all importance and prestige.[5] These now only form part of village fêtes, or perform magical dances, or act as jugglers and acrobats.[6]

We have just seen that *Egungun* is the spirit of a great West African secret society known by his name. The following extract shows how hard such cults die:

'Egungun, a powerful devil', writes Col. Ellis,[7] 'among the Yoruba peoples, was brought to Sierra Leone with the slaves taken from slave-ships captured by British cruisers. He still performs his antics in Free Town among the Christian descendants of those negroes. Spectators soon gather round him, and though, if asked, they will tell you it is only "play", many of them are half doubtful, and whenever the Egungun makes a rush forward, the crowd flees before him to escape his touch.' The reply of Egungun that 'it is only play' powerfully reminds us of the same answer, μετὰ παιδιᾶς, given by Thespis to the enraged Solon.[8]

In the *Nkimba*, an institution which has a wide range among the Lower Congo tribes, initiatory rites are in charge of the Nganga, or fetish-man, who lives with his assistants in an enclosure near each village. The novices are supposed to die and to rise again from the dead.

[1] Torday and Joyce, p. 73, Figs. 12 and 13*a*.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 73 and 237 (its origin).

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 87, Fig. 62.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 250.

[5] Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

[6] Leprince, *Revue scientifique*, 4e sér., vol. xiii (1900), pp. 399–401; Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

[7] *Yoruba-Speaking Peoples*, p. 109.

[8] Plut. *Solon*, 29: cf. Ridgeway, *Origin of Tragedy*, p. 58.

From such practices as the *Nkimba* and *Ndembo* illustrate it is an easy step to the conversion of the puberty institution into a seminary for the training of the fetish doctors or shamans. Such a step seems to have been taken among the Kaffirs, where the Isintonga, or fetish-doctors, who are supposed to have intimate relations with the Imisholugu, or spirits of the dead, form a special caste, the secrets

Fig. 75. Ceremonial Mask of wood : Africa (probably Upper Congo).[1]

of which are revealed only to those who undergo a long initiation. The candidates must first exhibit, by their possession of hallucinations, the unmistakable influence of the Imisholugu (i.e. show proof of being mediums ?), after which their initiation by the usual secret rites occurs. Dr. Webster suggests that from this may well arise a regular priesthood.

In the *Ogboni* of the Yoruba tribes the tribal society is seen in its

[1] In my own possession.

furthest development as an organization whose members have the power of priests. *Ogboni*, Ellis tells us, is 'inseparably connected' with the priesthood. In Yoruba states the chief of *Ogboni* is head of the priesthood. As the secret societies arise out of family cults, it is but natural that in Africa, as elsewhere, the head of such a family or clan and its members should remain as priests of the mysteries even when their scope has been greatly widened, as was the case with the rites of Eleusis.

South America. Let us now cross the Atlantic to the great western continent. Here we are at once confronted by a series of similar phenomena, in which the belief in the immortality of the soul and the worship of ancestors play as leading parts as they do in the other regions just surveyed. No matter how much the religious rituals of the ancient races of Peru, Central America, and Mexico, and those of the modern pagan peoples may vary in detail from tribe to tribe and from place to place, the belief in immortality and the worship of the dead have always formed the essential features of their religions. For example, ancestor-worship was practised in some form or other throughout Peru, both on the coast and in the Sierra. Belief in the continued existence of the spirit of man after death was universal, as is attested by Garcilasso (himself an Inca and writing in the generation after the Spanish conquest). Arriaga gives like testimony, for he states that, according to the people of the Sierra, departed souls went to a place called Ypamarca, crossing over a great river by a bridge of hairs, while the coast folk of Huacho believed that they were carried by sea-wolves to the Guano islands. Elsewhere the dead were believed to be escorted to the other world by black dogs, and numbers of these animals were bred to be sacrificed on the occasion of a funeral.[1] The custom almost universally prevalent, at any rate in early times, of interring favourite wives and even retainers with important individuals, also tells a tale of the belief in the continued life of the soul, which in some way or other was supposed to remain in close contact with the body, since here, as elsewhere, frequent offerings of food and, especially, drink were made at the tombs, and the mummies were brought out at stated intervals and ceremonial feasts were held in their honour. Sometimes the internal organs were removed from the body, and in the case of the Inca were preserved in golden vessels in a temple twelve miles from the capital.

Just as in Egypt the practice of mummification arose from the

[1] T. A. Joyce, *South American Archaeology* (London, 1913), pp. 144–5 (a perfect model of what such books should be).

desiccation of bodies placed in the dry sand (as has been demonstrated by my friend Professor G. Elliot Smith), so, too, in Peru, this custom seems to have arisen mainly from the dryness of the atmosphere, since there is no evidence that any preservative was used. In some places, too, as in Egypt, the dead were preserved in the houses ; at Callao there were stone burial towers. Sometimes the dead were placed in a squatting position, in other places in a contracted posture. The actual form of the grave naturally differed according to the character of the locality. In the highlands, caverns, often artificially enlarged, were the common depositories, and the bodies were placed in a seated position round the walls or in niches. Burial within the precincts of a temple was, as in Egypt, regarded as a privilege, only to be granted to the great, the royal mummies being preserved in the temple of their clan-god, the Sun.

Each clan (*ayllu*) had its own *huaca*, the term regularly applied at the present day to ancient graves. The word means a holy or sacred thing, and was used of all sorts of material objects honoured with a cult, such as mummies of ancestors, graves, temples (which, as we have seen, are only glorified graves), the offerings made at such shrines, objects or persons of an abnormal character, such as an egg with a double yolk, or a man with a hare-lip ; animals, rocks, rivers, and lakes. In the interior and throughout the whole Andean region the cult of the rocks appears to have been very extensive. As there are many known cases of rocks having been hewn out into sepulchres for the illustrious dead, the worship of sacred rocks and mountains as *huacas* can be readily understood. As mummies and graves form so important a series of *huacas*, it is generally admitted that the *huacas* are closely bound up with ancestor-worship. Each clan claimed descent from a common ancestor, who was regularly regarded as a *huaca*, and the clan-ancestor might be a person transformed later into a stone, beast, or bird, such as the condor, owl, bat, the anaconda serpent, the jaguar, puma, llama, dog, and certain fish and crustaceans. The clan adored the ancestor in common, whilst the royal Inca house revered the Sun as their ancestor, and certain of the Colla, who believed that they issued from Titicaca, made offerings to that lake.[1]

Where the ancestor was an animal the descendants, especially on the coast, seem to have worn costumes representing the supernatural ancestor at stated festivals, and many of the vase-paintings seem to depict the dances which took place on such occasions. Men are clad in masks and dresses to represent deer, foxes, scorpions, bats,

[1] T. A. Joyce, *op. cit.*, pp. 154–5.

owls, condors, falcons, pelicans, lobsters, crabs, and fish. Garcilasso tells us that at the great feast of the Sun, held at Cuzco in the month of June, the various deputations from the provinces appeared clad in the costumes of the animals from which they claimed descent. In the case of an inanimate *huaca* there is reason to believe that its sacred character was due to its being the habitation of some spirit, just as we saw, in the belief respecting certain rivers, mountains, trees, and the like in Burma and elsewhere. Arriaga mentions a case in which a rock had been the *huaca* of a certain village, but in consequence of its disturbance the *huaca* had migrated in the form of a parrot into another rock, which henceforth became the *huaca*. All this recalls the *Nats* of the Burmese. One of the most famous of the sacred rocks in Peru was that on the island of Titicaca, which, at any rate in later times, was associated with the Sun, and was faced by a temple dedicated to that deity. The qualification is added because here, too, the Incas may have appropriated an important local *huaca* for their own deity, a case of superimposition of a great divinity on a small local cult, of which, as we have seen, there are many instances in Greece. From the history it seems likely that some of the Incas tried to put down *huaca* worship, just as the Buddhist kings of Burma attempted to suppress the worship of the *Nats* (p. 232), but on the whole they seem to have been tolerant and were satisfied with the acknowledged supremacy of the Sun, their own ancestor. When a province was conquered, the local *huacas*, if portable, were removed to Cuzco, as hostages for their clansmen. Much of the *huaca* worship was incorporated in that of the Sun, and the ancestral mummies were paraded and dances performed in honour of the *huaca* at festivals held ostensibly in honour of the Sun.

Respect for the dead was the most potent factor in the daily life of the people, and constant offerings were made to the ancestors, especially at the season of sowing, and in Andahuaylas, when the fire threw out sparks, it was believed that the family forebears were hungry and thirsty, and chicha and maize were cast on the fire.

From the foregoing facts it is clear (1) that the Peruvians, like all the other Indian tribes of North and South America, were Totemists, (2) that their belief in Totem ancestors depended on the primary belief in the existence of the souls of the dead and the possibility of these souls migrating into any sort of material body, and (3) that it was not to abstract Vegetation or Corn spirits that they prayed for good harvests, but to the spirits of their dead ancestors, like the Burmese, Chinese, Japanese, and the numerous tribes of New Guinea and the Pacific Isles. This result is confirmed by the observation

of Mr. T. A. Joyce in his admirable paper on 'The Weeping God',[1] 'that the vegetation spirit which has been made to play such an important part in the folk beliefs of the Old World was of comparatively little account in ancient America, though the *Zaramama*, or "maize-mother", and *Cocamama*, or "coca-mother", were features of Peruvian peasant ceremonies. The Americans, for the most part,' he continues, 'sought a further cause in the sky-gods, the deities of rain, wind, and thunder,' which recalls the similar belief of the Japanese (p. 321); 'moreover these deities were two-faced, if they could create, they could also destroy, for the rain which fertilized was inseparable from the thunder which smote.' From the fact that the conception of a weeping god, lord of rain, wind, and thunder, whose functions are both creative and destructive, prevailed from Mexico to Chili and north-west Argentina, and from Guatemala to the Greater Antilles, Mr. Joyce has established an important link between the cultures of intertropical America, which shows 'that the various manifestations of ancient American culture possessed at least a common psychological element'.

In the Maize-mother and Coca-mother of the Peruvian peasants we have a parallel to Mother Pok Klai of the Chins, who, as we saw, was herself only an ancestral spirit generalized. Such Mothers as these confirm our suggestion (p. 40) that Demeter herself was once a living human mother.

We are now in a position to study with advantage the survivals of the dramatic dances of the Totemic tribes of Peru and the adjacent regions, such as that described by Garcilasso as held at Cuzco and in which the honouring of the ancestors had such a leading part.

The Chilinchili festival held by the Aymara, a civilized tribe of Bolivia, affords a good example of the survival of this principle. In it the participants represent the souls of the dead and go through pantomimic scenes of the familiar type. While the festival is in progress the actors must not live with their wives. Before its celebration the men who are to take part go about the village in the night-time carrying paper lanterns, ringing bells, and visiting the houses of the inhabitants to collect the tolls of money and food necessary for the feast. The simple villagers regard them with the highest reverence and awe. Mothers sometimes frighten their children with tales of the Lari, as the actors are called.[2]

The Caishana, a Brazilian tribe on the Tunantin River, still retain

[1] *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway on his 60th Birthday*, Aug. 6, 1913, p. 373.

[2] Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

their masked dances in honour of the Jurupari demon, but amongst the Tucunas 'the masked dances are now semi-festivals', while among the more civilized Egas of north-western Brazil similar dances are now nothing but theatrical performances.[1]

North America. All the Indian tribes of North America were Totemists. But here, as elsewhere, it can be made clear that a belief in the spirits of human ancestors is the basis on which their totemic beliefs rest. Thus all the tribes of the north-west coast believed that from the union of the raven and the maid all the Indians are sprung. Not unlike this was the belief of the Osage that they were descended from a male snail and a female beaver; the snail burst its shell, became a fine tall man, and then married the beaver maid. Again, among the Moqui of Arizona, the Snake clan is supposed to be descended from a woman who gave birth to snakes, a myth readily paralleled elsewhere; in Java, the Kalang, an aboriginal tribe, hold that they are descended from a princess whose mate was a dog, which had once, however, been a chief, while in Equatorial Africa the Bakalai believe that their women gave birth to the animals from which their totem clans severally claim descent.

In no area of the American continent has totemism played a larger part in the native art than in the north-west, as, for example, amongst the Haidas of Queen Charlotte Island and their cognate tribes. In each community the totems of the various clans were carved upon the chief's great totem post that stood in front of his house, whilst the chief himself had all their totems tattooed upon his person. He also seems to have had his chief totem and one or more sub-totems carved upon his pipe and elaborately wrought horn spoon. On totem post and spoon alike the uppermost figure represents the chief totem, the lower one or more sub-totems.

Thus by a sort of rude heraldry they express the totem not only of the chief's own clan, but also of the clans with which he was immediately connected by intermarriages. The Frog clan was a very important one, and on a carved spoon (Fig. 76)[2] not only does it form the upper totem, but is being embraced and kissed by a woman. The two seem to be the human ancestress of the clan and her frog husband.[3] Amongst these tribes of the north-west also were most fully developed the sacred dances in which the myths and history of the clan were dramatically represented by masked performers. One of the masks worn, now in the British Museum, is here shown

[1] Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

[2] In my own possession.

[3] W. Ridgeway, 'Note on the motives carved on some Haida Totem Spoons and Pipes,' *Man*, vol. vi (1906), pp. 145 *sqq.* (with Pl. K).

FIG. 76. Haida Chief's Totem Spoon.

(Fig. 77).[1] But what holds true for the tribes of the north-west coast is no less true for the rest.

'It is well known that the magical fraternities of the North American Indians hold a most important place in the social and religious life of the people. In the face of tribal disintegration they are still powerful factors in preserving the ancient customs and

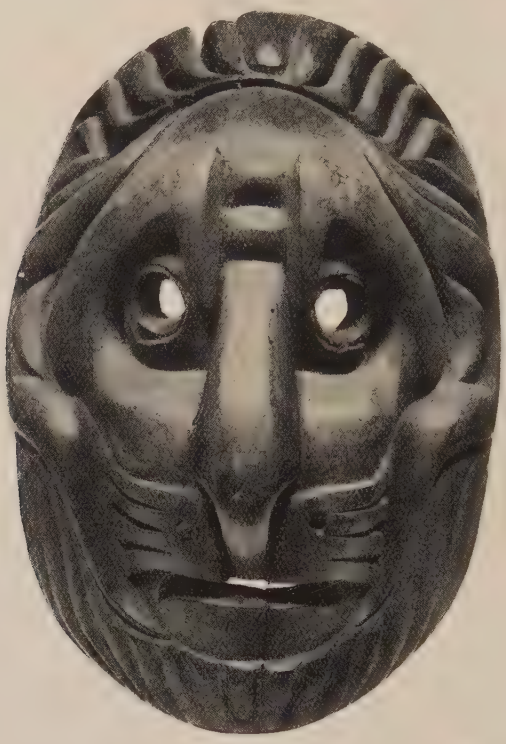

Fig. 77. Mask of Nulmal, one of the most important characters in the winter ceremonials : north-west coast of America.

tribal history. The rites, in part secret, in part public, constitute a rude but often very effective dramatization of the myths and legends. Usually only the members of the particular society which performs the rites understand their significance. The actors, masked or costumed, represent animals or divine beings whose history the myths recount. Candidates for initiation give much attention to the preparation of the songs and chants sung by members at the lodge meetings or at the public performances of the societies. By means

[1] I have to thank the authorities of the British Museum (through Mr. T. A. Joyce) for the photograph here reproduced.

of elaborate rituals and songs, by pictographs and sand paintings, the religious traditions concerning the ancestors of the tribe are carefully preserved.'[1] Among the Omahas each society has its special songs and music, transmitted by official keepers. The traditions of the Sioux are 'mysterious things not to be spoken of lightly or told on ordinary occasions. These traditions were preserved in the secret societies of the tribes. They explain the origin of the gentes and sub-gentes, of fire, corn, the pipes, bows and arrows, &c.' The sacred formulas of the Cherokees include medicine, love, hunting, fishing, war, self-protection, destruction of enemies, witchcraft, the crops, the council, the ball play, and many other subjects of interest to the Indian mind. The Ojibwa traditions of 'Indian genesis and cosmogony and the ritual of initiation into the Society of the Mide constitute what is to them a religion even more powerful and impressive than the Christian religion is to the average civilized man'.[2]

The winter ceremonials (cf. Fig. 77) of the Kwakiutl,[3] Koskimo and other tribes are in close connexion with the tribal traditions and mythology. It seems probable that the myths explaining their winter ceremonials were of gradual accretion and grew up 'to explain and develop a ritual which originally consisted only of disconnected dances'.[4] These Indian fraternities look back to a divine founder, whose worship is maintained in the societies he organized. According to the Ojibwa legends, the Medewiwin was founded by Minabozho, the servant of Dzhe Manido, the Good Spirit. Minabozho first presented the secret rites to the other, who thereupon gave them to his kinsmen the ancestors of the Ojibwa. The ceremonials were intended by Dzhe Manido to protect his Indian children from sickness and death. Sia societies were originated by the gods who gave to their organization secrets for the healing of the sick.[5] Poshaian kia taught the ancestors of the Zuni, Taos, and the Pueblo Indians their agriculture and systems of worship: and after organizing the secret societies disappeared from the world. But he is still the conscious auditor of the prayers of his children, the invisible ruler of the spiritual Shipapulina and other lesser gods of the medicine orders, the principal 'Finisher of the Paths of our Lives'.[6]

[1] Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

[2] Hoffman, *Seventh Ann. Report, Bur. Ethnol.*, p. 151.

[3] Boas, *Report of the U.S. National Museum* (*Smithsonian*), 1895, 'Social Organization of the Kwakiutl Indians,' pp. 468 *sqq.*

[4] Boas, *Journ. Amer. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xxviii (1896), pp. 142–3.

[5] Mrs. Stephenson, *Eleventh Ann. Rep., Bur. Eth.*, p. 69 (Webster).

[6] Cushing, *Second Ann. Rep.*, p. 16 (Webster).

Each Hopi society in Arizona also looks back to its ancestral divinity.[1] One of the most important duties of members of these fraternities is the healing of the sick. The close relationship which the members are believed to have with the spirits gives them much consideration as workers in magic.

There can be no doubt that the tribal 'gods' of the Hopi and other Indian tribes, like the local 'gods' of the Chinese, Japanese, and other races which we have surveyed, are nothing more than deceased ancestors, and that it is to the spirits of the dead that the rites of the Hopi at their offering-places are directed, especially for the purpose of obtaining good harvests and other supplies of food. Mr. Fewkes[2] has shown that these offering-places are regarded as entrances to the Underworld, that the beings worshipped at them are in many cases *katcinas*, and that these *katcinas* are identified with ancestors and the dead. 'You have become a *katcina*,' say the relatives to the dead before they inter them; 'bring us rain.' My friend, Miss Barbara Freire-Marreco, who has travelled much amongst the Hopi in Arizona, has most kindly allowed me to print here two Hopi stories which admirably illustrate the attitude of the Indian mind towards the dead. They are given as nearly as possible in the words of the interpreter, Gunauja. The conclusion of each story is the relevant part for my present purpose, but Miss Freire-Marreco has kindly written out one of them in full for me. To her generosity also I am indebted for the admirable photographs, taken by herself, from which are reproduced the pictures that illustrate the offering-houses and *katcina* ceremonies.

A story to account for the abandonment of Payupki,[3] *a ruined village near the Second Mesa of the Hopi reservation, Arizona, told by Gunauja, a man of the Masau clan of Walpi (First Mesa). April* 1913.

[Miss Freire-Marreco had been visiting the ruins, and on her return she remarked that an offering-house of piled stones was clearly distinguishable in the middle of the village.

[1] Fewkes, *Nineteenth Ann. Rep.*, p. 998.

[2] 'Hopi Shrines near the East Mesa, Arizona' (*American Anthropologist*, N.S., vol. viii, no. 2, April 1906), in which a version of the second story given me by Miss Freire-Marreco appears (p. 369): 'Growth of the Hopi Ritual' (*Journ. American Folk-lore*, vol. xi, no. 42, 1898), and 'An Interpretation of *katcina* worship' (*ibid.*, vol. xiv, April 1901), for which references I am indebted to Miss Freire-Marreco.

[3] Fewkes says that Payupki was deserted in the middle of the eighteenth century, and that the inhabitants went to Sandia in New Mexico.

Gunauja volunteered, that] 'Once there was a race between a boy and a girl. The girl won. They dug a hole and buried her where you saw the offering-house.'

The next village [also in ruins] was called Pumpkin Seed Cliff. The boy and girl ran for their two villages. The boy was the village Chief's son of one village, Payupki, and the girl was the Crier's daughter of the other.

There was a hair-cutting *katsina* race, and the village Chief's son was a fast runner, and caught many of the Pumpkin Seed Cliff runners and cut their hair. The Pumpkin Seed Cliff people got angry and planned that their girl should run. They let her practise running with her brother and then gave a challenge for another race. They dressed the girl separately in a house, not in the *kiva*, and no one knew of it. The women made red and yellow wafers and sweet-corn dough, and carried them over to the other village. The girl was young—her breasts were only like a man's—and her father painted her yellow and dressed her in kilt and sash and fox-skin. Even the other runners [whom they were sending out from the Pumpkin Seed Cliff *kiva*] knew nothing of it. Her father told her to run and overtake the other runners and not to speak to them. [When they spoke to her] she only nodded. They wondered at her smooth skin. When the runners took their places in a row, she went and stood with them, and they were wondering who it could be, and thinking maybe a *real* one had come with them!

[When men are dressed as *katsinas*, they represent supernatural beings and must be treated as such. Only uninitiated children, and formerly women, believe that they *are* supernatural; grown-up people know them to be men in disguise; but there is always supposed to be the possibility that a 'real' *katsina* may appear.]

The others [at Payupki] were dressing in one of the chief's houses. Each side spread a blanket and laid down food for prizes.

[The procedure is, that a runner takes a portion of food from the blanket belonging to his party and offers it to one of the other party. This is a challenge, and the person challenged must race the challenger. The challenged person, if he wins, takes the food. But if the challenger is dressed as a hair-cutting *katsina*, when he catches his opponent he has a right to cut off a lock of his hair. In stories the hair-cutter abuses his power by cutting off the whole of his opponent's hair, and this causes fatal quarrels between villages. When both sides have expended all their food the races are over.]

The girl ran fastest, and cut the hair of many runners. She gathered the hair in a bunch and came to the place where her father

was waiting for her. Then her father dug a hole arm-deep and put the hair in it. They got happy.

There was a girl, a fast runner, at Payupki too. Kalemsatiju [a man of Payupki] went to Pumpkin Seed Cliff and challenged them again, for four days later. The two girls were matched to run against each other. They [the people on either side] put down much turquoise and ear-pendants and beads and blue tunics and buckskins. They ran, and the Pumpkin Seed Cliff girl won by a little, and they took lots of things.

Then they planned another race, that girl against a boy. The Pumpkin Seed Cliff people were the challengers again. They were to run around a small isolated hill and come back. The girl practised with her brother and beat him. They gave four days' notice. Both sides wagered their heads. They put on their best clothes and took their *tiponis* with them [decorated ears of corn, the sacred insignia of chiefs], because they did not know whether they would live or die. They drew a line on the ground and the parties sat on either side of it.

The boy was to run with a gourd-shaped cup [i.e. by the magic of it]—the night before they had had a meeting and made it for him to run with—but the girl was to run with her own legs only. The night before neither side had slept, but waked, to see which side will win : [on the boy's side] there was an old man, their best man in the *kiva* because he was so old. But that night he was getting sleepy ; he had never got sleepy before [at a ritual vigil], but this time he got sleepy ; and the men scolded him, and he got angry and went out of the *kiva*. They were planning to make the cup for the boy to transform himself into it, to run ; the old man went to his house and transformed himself into a very small white beetle, and came back into the *kiva* unseen, and went inside the cup, and cut up into small pieces the thing inside it that was meant to run fast, and came out again.

The girl took some sweet-corn dough to a bird. The bird got happy. [? She / ? The bird] told the spider, too, and both of them were willing to help her. The spider sat on the top of the girl's ear. The girl put on her black woollen dress and coiled her hair up small and tight. They started to run, the girl and the boy. The grandmother [i.e. the spider] on the girl's ear was telling her what to do, and the bird too. The grandmother made a spider-string on the road, to hinder the boy who was ahead ; the girl passed, the spider allowing her, while the boy was in difficulties with the web. The one that was in the cup had another plan—it had a kind of bird too ;

so as it was in difficulties with the web it came out of the cup and ran by foot a little way, and it got into the skin of another kind of bird, a kowili. It was crying, and soon it began to cry like a man, because it was a man inside. Then it came out of the bird and ran itself again.

The girl came ahead again. The grandmother had warned her when the boy would try to shoot her, so then she flew higher. [A stock incident in race-stories.]

So she came first.

The boy's people said, 'This is what *we* planned, so we are bound to have it done.' So they began to cut the heads off. Not in the middle of the village square, but out behind the houses on a flat rock; so the rock turned red, like blood.

[Afterwards] the girl said to her people, 'Since they killed those people, maybe we did something wrong here; [i.e. maybe our causing their death was a wrong thing] so we will not stay here. Four days hence we will go away, because we had trouble here.' The girl said, 'You will not take me with you, because on account of me those people were all killed; but you will put me in the offering-house in the middle of the village-square'—so they did—'and from this time forward you will pray to me and ask me for rain.' So they went away; first to [where Winslow now is], and thence to some place we do not know, where all the people are dressed in white [i.e. Mexico]. So now people pray to her for rain, and when it rains it always starts from that place.

A story told by Natu, a man of the Stick clan of Hano, the Tewa village on the First Mesa of the Hopi reservation.

[The story, though told by this Tewa, is apparently a Hopi story. It is given here in outline.]

There were Hopi living on the terrace below the present site of Walpi (Fig. 78); and other people, some Hopi, some of another tribe, lived at *p'o t'e k'ege* on the Mesa to the east of Hano (Figs. 79, 80). They quarrelled over races and beat each other's *katsinas*. The *p'o t'e k'ege* people sent a hair-cutting *katsina* who cut off the head of a boy at Walpi. A Walpi girl, the boy's sister, dressed as a hair-cutting *katsina*, went to *p'o t'e k'ege*, and killed the chief's daughter, who was watching the races.

Also, some people lived near the present site of Sitsumovi (Figs. 81–4), at a place called *Sąlą te*, and the *p'o t'e k'ege* people treated them in the same way. They quarrelled over a game of elu, which the *Sąlą te* people won. They challenged them to a race. The *p'o t'e k'ege* people persuaded the hawk to race for them, the *Sąlą te*

people engaged the deer. Both sides bet their heads, and a knife was laid at the winning-line. The deer won by the magical help of the deer-people.

'There was a line drawn, and the deer just fell over the line and so got in first.'

Fig. 78. Indian shrine at Wala, the 'Gap', from which Walpi is named.

Then they threw up the dirt, and were shouting and taking off their blankets and whipping each other with the blankets, and throwing dirt at each other.

So they beat them again the third time.

'Well, we can't help it: this is the way *we* planned it, so we cannot say anything. So you can kill us all, and cut off our chief's head first.'

The bird said, they will not kill his people: 'just kill *me*. *I* am the one that ran and did not come first, so I would rather be killed alone. When you kill me, take my heart and bury it here, and who-

ever walks near it can pray to me and be a fast runner and kill rabbits by running fast.'

So he told his people they must not try to beat each other with any kind of game any more: 'this is how you get angry with each other when one gets beaten.' So they cut his head off, and took his heart and buried it in a hole forearm-deep, and built something like

Fig. 79. The Plaza shrine of Hano, called Kaje t'e'e, Fetish house.

an offering-house there. And that is why the Hopi still pray there when any of them go walking early [an expression which describes athletes in training].

And round that offering-house they turn when they race [i. e. they use it as a goal].

They say, 'I'll be a fast runner just like you, and I'll kill a rabbit just like you;' and they sprinkle white corn-meal towards it.[1]

Let us now sum up the results of our survey of the various barbaric or savage peoples of the Indian and Pacific Islands, Australia, Africa,

[1] What we have said of the Indian winter and other ceremonials holds equally true of the Eskimo. See Addendum B, p. 394.

and America. (1) The Men's House or Sacred Lodge appears in Ceram in the lodge of Nitu Elak, the tribal ancestor; in the *eravo* of New Guinea, in which a boy is secluded prior to initiation; in the *kwod* at Pulu in Torres Straits, in which was celebrated a death-dance in honour of tribesmen recently deceased; each clan in Mabuaig had its *kwod*, in which magical rites were performed; in

Fig. 80. Ohoiki'i, Dance at Hano, Feb. 1913.

the Bismarck Archipelago there are the Dukduk lodges; in Fiji there was the Nanga enclosure, where dwelt the ancestral spirits to whom the firstfruits of the yam-harvest were offered, and in which the boys were initiated; among the Polynesians were the *marais*, or Men's Houses, which were the burial-places of chiefs, and which served as temples, where festivals in honour of the 'gods' were held; finally there are the well-known medicine-lodges and fetish-houses of the Indians of North America. (2) Dramatic performances, in which the participants wear masks

and represent the dead, were found in Ceram, in honour of the tribal ancestor; in New Guinea, the god Kovave and his attendants wear masks; so, too, Dukduk and his partner Tubuvan are represented by masked persons; at Pulu in Torres Straits there was a great death-dance called *Tai* in honour of those recently dead, the chief of the *Tai* being a hero called Waiat, who was represented by a

Fig. 81. Sitsumovi. Branch planted at the Kaje t'e'e.

wooden figure without eyes or ears, such as those termed *xoana* by the Greeks; the chief performers covered with leafy masks represented the ghosts of the recently deceased tribesmen, and the *Tai* presents the elements of an organized dramatic entertainment, in which the performers appeared in regular order and imitated the characteristic gait and action of the deceased, thus recalling the *mimus* of the Roman funeral, the *Thilakapo* of Manipur, the mediums of the Burmese *Nats*, the pantomimic dances of the Chinese in honour of their ancestors, the *Kagura* of the Japanese Shintoists, and, as we shall soon see, the mediums of the Uganda kings. (3) These

masked or dressed-up personages everywhere alike seem to represent the spirits of the dead, whether they be the performers in the *tai* at Torres Straits or the *katsinas* of the Indians of Arizona, and furthermore, in not a few cases they were regarded as mediums, a fact which strongly confirms our view that amongst the civilized peoples of Asia, and probably even in Greece, the primitive actor was deemed

FIG. 82. Blue-faced *Katsinas* at Sitsumovi, 1913.

the temporary abode or medium of the dead individual whom he personated. (4) It is to them that the firstfruits of the crops are offered in order to ensure blessings, whether in New Guinea or in Fiji, and in no case, any more than in Burma, China, and Japan, have we any trace of the veneration of an abstraction such as Corn Spirit, Vegetation Spirit, or Daemon of the Year, save the Maize-mother and Coca-mother of the Peruvian peasantry, which, as has been pointed out, are of late origin and were mere generalizations of once living human mothers. (5) In all the instances of initiation cited, the boys are either shut up in the sacred lodge, which belongs to the ancestral

spirit, or in some other way they are presented to or put under the protection of the tribal ancestors, whether in Ceram, in New Guinea, or in Australia ; in cases where the boys have their teeth knocked out ceremonially, or are supposed to die and be restored to life again, it is the tribal ancestor who is supposed to bring about this result. (6) The power of the secret societies in all these regions depends upon the

Fig. 83. Old man sprinkling the blue-faced *Katsinas*, as they pass the Sitsumovi Kaje t'e'e, near which a ' tree ' has been planted for the Dance.

popular belief that they associate with the spirits of the dead, to whom, as has been shown, the neophytes are presented at their initiation. From this it follows that the initiatory ceremonies and the mysterious rites with which they are bound up, upon which Dieterich, Miss Harrison, Mr. F. M. Cornford, and Professor G. G. Murray base their theories of the origin of Greek tragedy, have no prior or separate existence, but are mere later parasitic growths upon the primary and primitive belief in the existence of departed spirits, in whose honour the dramatic rites in every case are held. Accordingly these dances

and dramatic performances belong not to a separate initiatory ceremony in honour of Vegetation spirits, but are essentially part of the cult of the dead, to whom the initiated boys are presented.

If it could be shown that the first step in dramatic performances can be found not only attached to the cult of the dead, but absolutely

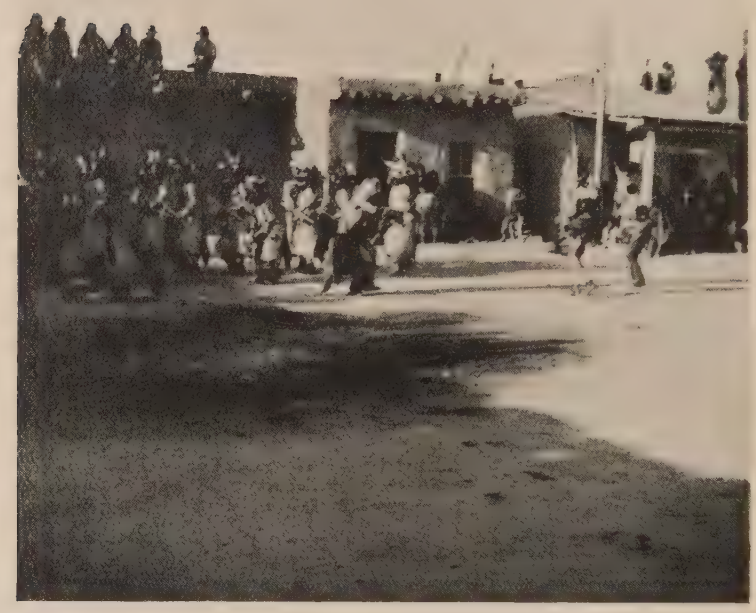

FIG. 84. Wakakatsina the Wolf shoots a *kojala*. Two clowns (*kojala*) teasing the cow *Katsinas* at Sitsumovi. The wolf, who accompanies the cows, retaliates by shooting at the clowns.

without any concomitant initiation ceremonies, we should have clinched our argument that such rites, when found concurrently with dramatic or pantomimic performances, are merely later accretions.

Uganda. In what may be regarded as one of the most highly developed of native African kingdoms, that of Uganda, belief in the existence of the spirits of the dead, and rude dramatizations of their peculiarities when alive, have played a foremost part in the religious life of the people down to our own day.

'The objects of veneration', writes the Rev. J. Roscoe,[1] our highest authority on the Baganda, 'are fourfold: gods, fetiches, amulets, and ghosts. The gods fall into two classes: (1) *public*, whose priests appear with the objects of veneration before the king, from time to time, and the maintenance of whose worship depends upon the State, and (2) *private* gods, connected with some particular clan, little known to the nation at large and of little influence in the country.' The principal gods appear to have been at one time human beings noted for their skill and bravery, and afterwards deified by the people. There were also animal and reptile gods in addition to deified human beings. Moreover, certain trees and stones were regarded with veneration as having occult powers. (3) Next come fetiches, 'which though made by man were firmly believed to possess supernatural powers for bringing good to or averting evil from their fortunate owners. In many cases they were believed to have ghosts attached to them, to hear and answer supplications in a most practical manner. Some of them had their temples, with mediums and priests like the gods and the kings, and were taken periodically to the king. These fetiches were the nearest approach to idols. Apart from these, idols were unknown to the Baganda. The amulets received no worship, neither offerings nor supplication, and were not held in the same veneration as the fetiches, but they had healing virtues, for various sorts of diseases could be warded off by them. (4) The last and possibly the most venerated of the classes of religious objects were the ghosts of departed relatives.' The power of ghosts for good or evil was 'incalculable'.

It will have been observed that three out of the four classes of objects of veneration are either spirits or, as in the case of the fetiches, closely bound up with such, the last of them being beyond all doubt the ghosts of disembodied spirits of human beings. As Mr. Roscoe points out that there is every reason to believe that the principal gods were at one time human beings, noted for their skill and bravery, 'afterwards deified,' there is therefore a *prima facie* case for regarding them as ancient chiefs. Let us now, as is our practice, work backwards from the better known to the less known, and accordingly begin with the ghosts of the dead, naturally starting with those of the kings as the most important.

Temples. The temples of the kings, commonly called their tombs, contain in each case no more than the jawbone and the umbilical cord of some particular king, and probably certain other parts as well, as was certainly the case in the reliquary of Kibuka (Figs. 85–6).

[1] *The Baganda: their Customs and Beliefs* (Macmillan, 1911), p. 271.

Their bodies were buried in other places, each in a mausoleum called *masiro*.[1] The district of Busiro, 'which means the district of the graves,'[2] contains all the temples of the kings, and for this reason it is important, though it is a small district in comparison with most of the others.

The ghost of each king had its own temple, for it was thought that several ghosts would not agree to have one in common.

The site for a temple was generally selected by a king during his lifetime, but sometimes the new king chose another site and gave the order to build the temple of his predecessor on it. Several of the late king's widows were sent to take charge of the temple: they, as well as the medium (of whom we shall have more to say), had their houses inside the temple enclosure, and some of them slept inside the temple itself in order to guard it. It is very important to note that 'the ghosts of kings were placed on an equality with the gods and received the same honour and worship:[3] they foretold events concerning the State, and advised the living king, warning him when war was likely to break out. The king made periodical visits to the temple, first of one, then of another of his predecessors. At such time the jawbone and the umbilical cord were placed on the throne in the temple and the king sat behind them. They were handed to him and he returned them to the custodian. The ghosts of the kings were supposed to hold receptions. At such times the people went in crowds to hear the medium and to see the decorated relics of their former lord. A drum was beaten in the early morning summoning the people to the temple: numbers of them would bring presents of food as though the king were alive. In the temple the decorated jawbone wrapped in bark cloths was set on its throne, together with the umbilical cord (Fig. 87), and each person, as he entered, bowed to the ground and greeted the jawbone, which was called "the King" in solemn tones. Drums were beaten and music was played during the reception, whilst women sang songs and clapped their hands in time. Sometimes the deceased king gave a message to the crowd through the medium, and this was a great event. When the medium was under the influence of the king's ghost, he spoke in the same tone, and used the same expressions as those which the late king had been accustomed to use'[4]—a piece of rude dramatization closely resembling that followed in the case of the Burmese *Nats* (pp. 245–60) and that at a Roman funeral.

[1] Roscoe, *op. cit.*, p. 283.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 252.
[3] *Op. cit.*, pp. 283–4.
[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 283.

It was an exceptionally great day when the reigning king went to visit the temple of his predecessor. Thousands of people assembled to witness the sight and to hear the oracle. When the king had left the temple, and was being conducted back, he invariably gave an order to catch every one who had not passed a certain place which he mentioned. The order was given suddenly and the bodyguard promptly carried it out, capturing and binding all whom they could lay hands on, if they had not passed the place indicated by the king. The captives were taken back to the temple and slain within its precincts in order that their ghosts might minister to the late king's ghost. Sometimes the latter demanded the slaughter of men by asking for slaves. This was, however, a rare event. As a rule a ghost was content with a fire, and with a present of cattle, clothing, and beer. The jawbone and the umbilical cord were kept in a cell dug in the second chamber of the temple, where they were safe from fire or from theft.

The temple of every king from the time of Kintu to that of Mutesa is known and has its relics, sometimes decorated in a very primitive manner with cowries (Fig. 87), but elsewhere decorated with beads which have been introduced into the country in recent years.

Ghosts of common people were honoured in a smaller measure.[1] It was believed that all ghosts had first to go to Tanga, a place where they gave an account of themselves and their deeds done in the flesh, and that after paying their respects to Wallumbe, the god of death, they were free to go back to their respective burial-grounds. As a rule the shrines of ghosts were built near the graves, though sometimes a noted chief had his jawbone removed by his clan and placed in some special shrine of the clan. In the small shrines the relatives placed offerings of beer or clothing. The majority of ghosts were beneficent, and assisted the members of the clan to which they belonged; only the ghosts of a man's sister were supposed to be troublesome, their malice venting itself more especially on his children.

The worship of the national gods was under the immediate control of the king. Their duty was the protection of the king and the State. If one of these gods vexed the king he would send and loot his temple and estate. The king alone might commit such an act of sacrilege, for anybody else would have met with certain death at the hands of the guardians of the temples. These national gods had temples appointed for them by the king on hill-tops and estates on the hill-sides often extending down into the valleys. The headman

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 285.

of the clan was appointed to the charge of the temple estate. He was generally called *Mutaka*—that is, the man who governs a freehold burial estate—because the estate which had been dedicated to the god was an old burial estate of the clan, and this man was the chief of the freehold burial land of the clan. In many cases the same man was chief priest in the temple and was responsible for the safety and good conduct of the slaves and the cattle of the god.

In some temples there were as many as four priests. The duty of the chief priest was to receive all persons who came to seek an interview with the god. He took their offering from them and announced them to the god, stating what they had brought and why they had come. When the god granted the inquirers an interview the priest interpreted to them the oracle. This was given through the medium, because it was often conveyed in language understood by the priest alone. The priesthood continued within the clan, but the son of the priest did not of necessity succeed his father, for the clan appointed the successor, subject to the approval of the king. The persons of both priests and mediums were sacred. The medium (*mandwa*) had only one duty to perform, that of being the mouthpiece of the god which he represented. This representative was always chosen by the god himself. In some cases women might be chosen as mediums (as is the case of the great god Mukasa), in others only men. The person chosen was suddenly possessed by the god, and began to utter secrets or to predict future events, which apart from the divine influence it would have been impossible for him to do. The gods never appointed more than one medium for a temple except in the cases of Kibuka and Nende, who were obliged to have several mediums, because at times they had to send a medium to accompany a punitive expedition while another medium remained in the temple. Mukasa also had many mediums because he had temples in many parts of the country, but he had only one in each temple. When a medium wished to become possessed in order to give the oracle, he would smoke a sacred pipe, using in most instances the ordinary tobacco, this being sometimes supplemented by a cup of beer. He sat in the temple near the fire, and after smoking the pipe remained perfectly silent, gazing steadily into the fire or upon the ground until the spirit entered him. Then he became frenzied and his utterances were often unintelligible to any but the priest who was the interpreter.

Animal gods also had their mediums,[1] and the behaviour of these, like those of the kings, is especially worthy of our notice. The

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 334.

sacrificial place, Nakinzire, on the Seguku hill in Busiro, had a temple and a medium, who was the son of a princess. This medium was thought to be possessed by a leopard: he growled and rolled his eyes about like an angry beast when under the influence of the leopard ghost, a fact which recalls the behaviour of the *Nat* of the Burmese merchant who had been eaten by a tiger (Fig. 53, p. 251). Again, the sacrificial place, Kitinda,[1] on the island Damba, was dedicated to the crocodiles. There was a temple and a medium, who, when possessed, worked his head about, opening his mouth and snapping it, as a crocodile moves its head from side to side, and snaps its mouth to shut it. In the case of the python god the medium was a man, who, after drinking some of the milk from the bowl used by the python in his temple, was seized by the python's spirit and he went down on his face and wriggled about like a snake, making peculiar noises and uttering words which the people could not understand.[2]

It is clear from the foregoing facts that the principal gods (probably all except Katonda, the Creator) were nothing more than deified kings, as pointed out by Mr. Roscoe, since their relics, their temples, their ritual, and the method of giving oracles differed in no wise from those of the historical kings of Uganda down to Mutesa or Mtesa, who was reigning when Speke and Grant discovered the Great Lakes.

Indeed it seems highly probable that these national divinities had earlier been tribal gods and earlier still tribal chieftains, since the estate attached to the god's temple was in charge of the headman of the local clan, who bore the title of *Mutaka*, the governor of a freehold burial estate, because the god's estate was an old burial estate of the clan. The headman was not merely the chief of the freehold burial land of the clan, but was in many cases the chief priest in the god's temple. The priesthood continued always in the clan, which had the right of appointing the new priest subject to the king's approbation. These facts point clearly to the conclusion that the god in such a case was an old clan ancestor, whose shrine and ritual were always controlled by his own family or clan, even though his cult had become widely extended or even national, and thus afford a striking parallel to what we have seen in the case of the local gods of Japan, China, and ancient Greece.

This is fully borne out by the national traditions which represent both Mukasa, the most widely venerated of the gods, and his brother Kibuka, the great War-god, as being mortal men of peculiar eminence. Moreover, that Kibuka was nothing more than an ancient chief has

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 336. [2] *Op. cit.*, p. 332.

been demonstrated by the remains found in his reliquary now at Cambridge (Fig. 85).[1] This had an outer wrapping of a leopard skin, symbol of royalty, a stool with a hollow seat, which contained the personal relics of the king, the *mulongo* ('the twin'), an iron knife, and two shields. The leopard skin formed the mat on which the other articles stood. The relics (Fig. 86)[2] comprise the lower jawbone and two leather cases containing the *genitalia*. In the case of princes

Fig. 85. The Reliquary of Kibuka, the War-god of Uganda.

the umbilical cord was carefully preserved, and that of him who becomes king is decorated as in the case of Kibuka's, and is made into a 'twin'. This is kept by a great officer of State, and each month it is brought to the king after the new moon appears. When the king dies the lower jawbone is removed, and after cleansing and purification it is stitched up in a leather case decorated with cowrie shells and placed on a stool. The jawbone and the umbilical cord

[1] I am indebted to the kindness of the Council of the Royal Anthropological Society and to Mr. Roscoe for permission to reproduce the illustrations here given.

[2] J. Roscoe, 'Kibuka, the War-god of the Baganda' (*Man*, vol. vii, 1907, pp. 161 *sqq.*).

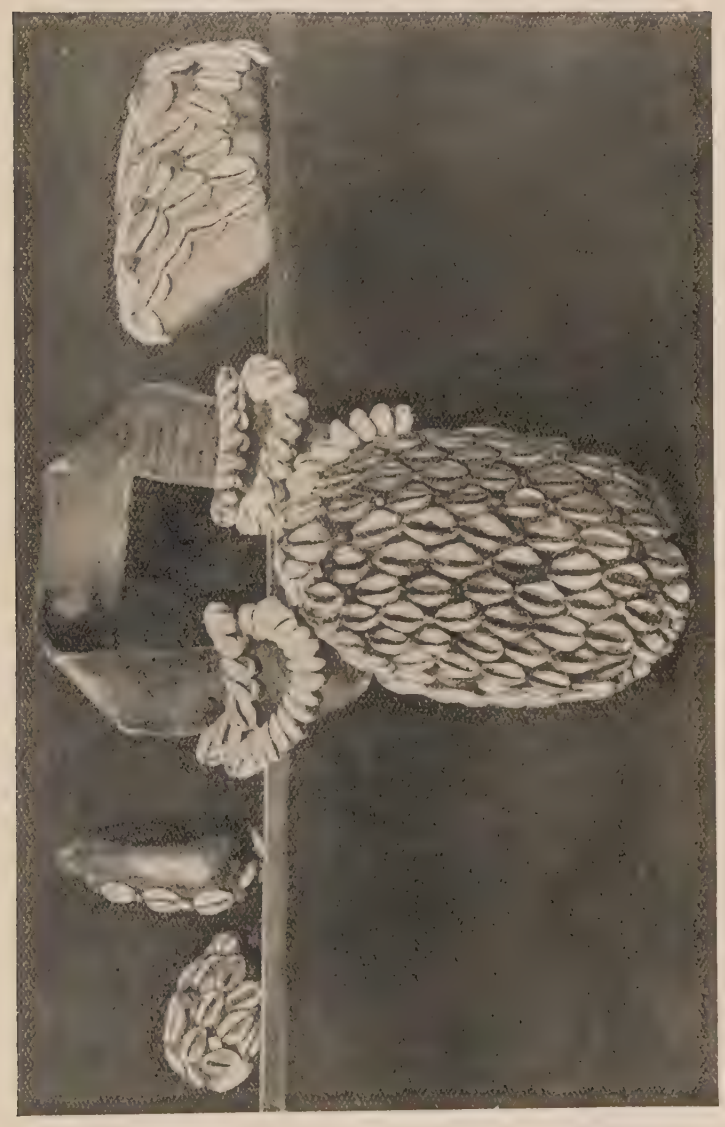

FIG. 86. The Relics of Kibuka, the War-god of Uganda.

(*mulongo*) must always be kept together. I here figure a very ancient *mulongo* (Fig. 87) in my own possession, given to me by my friend, the

FIG. 87. The *Mulongo* (umbilical cord) of a Baganda king.

Rev. J. Roscoe. There is thus every reason for believing that Kibuka was a man who dwelt on the islands in the lake, and that he was summoned thence to aid a King of Uganda, by name Nakibinge, who

lived some 300 years ago, in a war against the *Banyoro*.[1] His temple was of the usual kind, in the form of a conical hut surrounded on three sides by a dense forest. Unfortunately it was burned by the Muhammadans in the civil wars of 1887–90, but the precious reliquary was buried by its custodian and kept safely until it passed into the hands of Mr. Roscoe for Cambridge University. Kibuka was very rich, for in addition to the gardens on the slopes of the hills, the king and the chiefs were constantly offering him men and women slaves and cattle. He had no less than forty mediums, some of whom accompanied the army in war. In times of peace only one was employed.[2] The king always consulted him before engaging in war.

It is also plain that prayers and supplications for fertility of women, cattle, and crops were not directed to any mere abstractions such as the Daemon of the Year, or the Vegetation Spirit, or the powers of Winter and Summer, but were directed to spirits which were certainly believed by the Baganda to be the ghosts of the mighty ones of their race. Though Mukasa had many temples in different parts of the country, his chief shrine was that in his ancient home in the isle of Bubenbe. He had there three priests and a medium, who was always a woman. The principal ceremony was the annual festival when the king sent to secure a blessing ' on the crops and the people for the year '.[3] The offerings consisted of nine men, nine women, nine white cows, nine white goats, nine white fowls, nine loads of bark cloths, and nine loads of cowrie shells.

The king's representative had to go to Gabunga, the chief of the canoes, who accompanied him to the island. The priest awaited the arrival of the representative in the open space before the temple, and appointed for him and his retainers a house in which they were to remain during the ceremonies. He then went to inform the god of the arrival of the king's party, and in speaking to the god about the king, the priest called him ' Your son-in-law ', and the god in like manner said ' Tell my son-in-law So-and-so '. The festival lasted at least twenty days, during which chastity had to be observed. When the ceremonies were ended the priest gave the blessing to them, their wives, children, cattle, and crops. From Mukasa came the great blessing of twins, and to Mukasa each new king sent for his blessing.

Mukasa was god of the lake and controlled the storms and gave the increase of fish. He also gave good passages to people travelling by water. The boatmen sought his blessing before they set out on a voyage, and called to him when in danger from a storm.

[1] J. Roscoe, *The Baganda : their Customs and Beliefs*, p. 317.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 303.
[3] *Op. cit.*, pp. 297–9.

There can be little doubt that Nendo the white War-god, and Pango, the god whose human victims were sacrificed before going to the chase, were, like Kibuka, their green War-god, the Kuan Ti of the Chinese War-god, and Kambi Yaka, the Bondo hero, nothing more than successful warriors and hunters. It is noteworthy that Katonda, the Creator, received but little honour or attention, having only a small temple in the Kyagwe district on the Bambi hills, in which there was neither fire nor light. He was spoken of as the 'Father of the gods'; because he had created all things, but not much was known about him. His emblem gave his orders at night. Offerings of cattle were made to him occasionally, some of which were killed, but the majority were allowed to roam about with a bell round the neck of each.[1]

In Uganda we have had (1) those cases of the dramatization of the dead kings by their brothers, as in the case of the Roman salians, the Phlialasiae of Mantinea, the soothsayers of the Bhumij: Nats, and the like; (2) those cases where the dramatization of the dead king was necessary for initiating boys connected with the cults of the kings; (3) all the gods save Katonda, the Creator, seem to have been nothing more than deified chieftains, famous for their prowess and wisdom, such as Mukasa and his brother the War-god Kibuka; (4) it was Mukasa, as we have just seen, on whom the king and nation depended for fertility of wives, cattle, and crops, and not on any mere abstraction; (5) as the genitalia of the kings were preserved in their reliquaries, as well as their jawbones and umbilical cords, it is fair to infer that to this part of the rites might be ascribed the beneficent fertilization of women, cattle, and crops. Accordingly the sacred phallus used in the Dionysiac ceremonies may have been no mere abstract symbol, but rather may have represented the concrete relic of some ancient hero. But as we have found in Uganda a much primitive form of dramatization of the dead, such as that which we had already seen in many other regions, in all cases, as in Uganda, closely bound up with the worship of the dead, and as in the case of Uganda there was no initiatory ceremony connected with the dramatization of the kings, we may confidently conclude that the initiation theory of Miss Harrison, Mr F. M. Cornford, and Professor G. G. Murray is devoid of any foundation in fact.

Let us now sum up the general results of this long inquiry: (1) It has been demonstrated that dramatic performances in Persia, Hindostan, Burma, China, and Japan have sprung out of the propitiation and veneration of the dead, whilst in all these regions, except in Western Asia, the funerary performances have developed into a true

[1] Roscoe, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

serious Drama and Tragedy; (2) it was also shown that dramatic performances not only form part of funerary ceremonies, in many places, but in some even begin before the actual burial of the body, as in ancient Italy and in modern Assam; (3) that amongst the Tangkuls, Burmese, Chinese, and Japanese the actor is more than actor, for he is the medium of the dead person whom he represents, whilst there was also evidence that the Brahman actors in India are regarded as the embodiments for the time being of the gods and heroes whom they personate; (4) that the sacred dramatic dances of many barbaric races in New Guinea, Ceram, Torres Straits, Australia, the Islands of Melanesia and Polynesia, West Africa, and North and South America, are primarily for the worship of the dead; (5) that the persons who wear the masks of the beings represented are regarded as incarnations of these spirits for the time being, and accordingly the beliefs of all these races are similar to those of the civilized nations of the Asiatic continent; (6) that just as the dramas of India, Burma, China, and Japan have grown out of the dramatic representations of the dead, so even amongst some savages, as, for instance, those of Torres Straits, the Death Dance or *Tai* has developed into as true a drama as the ancient *Kagura* dance of Japan; (7) that as the masks and dresses worn by the actors and dancers in this *Tai* and all similar performances represent the dead, it is reasonable to infer that the white masks used by Thespis were meant to represent the ghosts, and we thus obtain further corroboration of our view that Tragedy in Greece, as elsewhere in the world, arose from the worship of the dead; (8) our wide induction thus leads irresistibly to the conclusion that Tragedy and serious Drama, wherever they are found under the sun, have their roots in the world-wide belief in the continued existence of the soul after the death of the body; (9) as certain theories of the origin of Greek Tragedy depend upon the Solar and Vegetation theories of Kuhn, Max Müller, Mannhardt, and Sir James Frazer, upon the latter's doctrine that Magic is a stage prior to Religion, and upon that of Dr. Marett that what is termed *mana* by the Melanesians is prior to Animism, i.e. the full belief in the existence of souls or spirits, it was necessary to test these various doctrines concurrently with our other inquiries; (10) the facts make it clear that men always move from the concrete and the particular to the abstract and the universal, and not in the contrary direction as postulated by both the Solar Mythologists and the Vegetationists; (11) we must therefore reject the doctrine that mankind lamented and dramatized the supposed sorrows of Natural phenomena, such as the Year, Summer

and Winter, Corn, Vine, and other Vegetation abstractions, before they bewailed and dramatized human sorrows; (12) we have shown how universal is the practice of praying to the spirits of dead ancestors for good crops and other blessings, and how it is only at a late stage that men begin to worship personages such as the Food and Harvest goddesses and the Wind-god of the Japanese, each of whom was once a human being, deified after death, and whose worship later became generalized and widespread; (13) we have also shown that Nature spirits—trees, rocks, rivers, and mountains (such as Kinchinjunga, cited by Lord Bryce)—termed *Nats* by the Burmese, are in every case regarded as having been once human beings, and accordingly the whole doctrine of such abstract tree and other spirits must be rejected, and with them goes the theory that the tree at Nemi was sacred because it was deemed the abode of some abstraction, and not because it was supposed to be inhabited by the spirit of some dead man buried under or near it, the conclusion to which our facts rather point; (14) but as the belief in the existence of the soul after the death of the body and the worship of the dead is the very essence of what is termed Religion, Religion is at least as early a stage as Magic, and certainly is not later. With deep regret I am thus forced by the facts to reject the doctrine of my old and well-tried friend, Sir James Frazer. (15) We also found reason for believing that what is termed *mana* by the Melanesians is not a stage prior to Animism, the full belief in the existence of souls or spirits, for as it is held to be a quality frequently possessed by ghosts, though only by those of special persons, such as chiefs, it seems merely a phase or secondary phenomenon of the full belief in the continued existence of the soul after the death of the body; (16) it is also clear that the belief in the existence after death of the spirits of the dead lies at the bottom of, and is antecedent to, all Totemic beliefs found in America, Africa, Asia, Australia, the isles of the Indian and Pacific Oceans, and accordingly Sir James Frazer's doctrine that Totemic beliefs are primary and independent of that in the existence of the soul after the death of the body must be abandoned; (17) with the theories of Kuhn, Max Müller, Mannhardt, Frazer, and Marett must fall the doctrines of Greek Tragedy based upon them by Professor Dieterich, Dr. Farnell, Miss Harrison, Mr. Cornford, and Professor G. G. Murray, and that of Hindu Tragedy founded upon them by Professor A. B. Keith; and no less futile will be any other theories of their origin which hereafter may be built upon the principle that Man starts from the Abstract and only later proceeds to the Concrete.

ADDENDA

A. THE BURMESE *NAT-PWES* (p. 257)

I HERE give some most valuable information which has a very important bearing on the origin of the Burmese drama and of the conventional tree (p. 259) which always stands in the middle of a Burmese theatre. Unfortunately my monograph was already in pages when it arrived, and I therefore could not embody it and the illustrations in my text. I am indebted for it to my friend, Lady Wheeler-Cuffe, Maymio, Upper Burma, who most kindly obtained the information and the photographs from Mr. B. S. Carey, C.S.I., C.I.E., Commissioner of Sagaing, and formerly Superintendent of the Southern Shan States; from Mr. J. A. Stewart, I.C.S., Mandalay, and from Dr. Geis, American Baptist Missionary among the Kachins.

In the beginning of August, 1914, Mr. Stewart[1] went to the Nat-pwe (festival) at Taungbyon and there took five photographs of exceptional interest: (1) the Nat's palace or shrine (Fig. 88); (2) the Nat-kadaws salaaming the Nat (Fig. 89). They are dressed as men in *pasos* (p. 238, &c.); (3) the Nat-kadaws with raised pointing forefinger, an act which they could not explain (Fig. 90); (4) the Nat-kadaws. 'One of these (Fig. 91) was a recent recruit to their ranks, and she tried to get inspired while we were there, but the Nat would not come. The old woman next her is a sort of governess to the Nat-kadaws; she has great influence over them and they are afraid of her. The most interesting ceremony at Taungbyon is one which takes place after dusk on, I think, the last day of the festival. The Nat-kadaws dance three times round a Teeinbin tree, brandishing a *dahi*; after the third round they go to cut it, but the crowd rush in, drive away the Nat-kadaws and tear it to pieces among them. All the pieces are of value as charms.' This tree seems to be the origin of the conventional tree in the middle of the Burmese theatre (p. 259), and seems to be regarded as the abode of the Nat (like the Japanese *mitegura* tree or *gohei* (pp. 293, 298, 300), which in its turn is the origin of the sacred pine tree painted on the back wall of every *No* theatre.

These Nat-kadaws, i.e. 'Nat-Brides', dressed as men in *pasos*,

[1] In a letter to Lady Wheeler-Cuffe dated October 13, 1914.

FIG. 88. The Nat's Palace or Shrine; Taungbyon, Burma.

FIG. 89. The Nat-kadaws (Nat-brides) salaaming the Nat; Taunglyon, Burma.

FIG. 90. The Nat-kadaws (Nat-brides) with raised pointing forefinger; Taungbyon, Burma.

FIG. 91. A Nat-bride neophyte, to whom the Nat would not come; Taungbyon, Burma.

seem identical with the Nat-ten, or mediums, also dressed as men, who dance at the great New Year festival in honour of Thagya Nat (p. 238). Lady Wheeler-Cuffe informs me that Nat-kadaws means 'Nat-brides', i.e. women who are supposed to be possessed by the Nats. They thus resemble the Japanese *miko* or virgin priestesses, who dance the *kagura*, and become possessed by the spirits of the dead (pp. 291, 303).

Mr. J. A. Stewart, in reply to queries which I addressed to him respecting the Taungbyon ceremony in a letter dated March 5, 1915, has sent me the following most interesting details: 'The festival is held at Taungbyon, some seven miles north of Mandalay, during the week from the 8th waxing to the full-moon day of Wagaung (July–August). It is held in honour of the two brother Nats Shwebyingyi and Shwebyinnge. They are included in the list of the Thirty-seven Nats [see Nos. XXV and XXVI, *supra*, p. 252]. They were Indian Mahommedan soldiers of the Burman king Anawrata, the conqueror of the Mon or Talaing kingdom of Thaton. They were put to death by the king at Kwatywa village near Taungbyon [see p. 252]. After their execution they seem to have haunted a stream near Taungbyon and on one occasion impeded the progress of the royal boat. They contrived to make it known that their reason for this was that their service had not met with a proper reward. Thereupon the king decreed that a palace should be built for them at Taungbyon and that the inhabitants of the district of Madaya should do them reverence [cf. p. 253]. The bigger figure in the photograph (Fig. 88) is the elder brother (*gyi*, "big"), and the smaller the younger brother (*nge*, "little"). They have a number of permanent attendants, who derive their income from the contributions at the festival. Besides these there are subordinate officers, such as the bearers of the Nats' palanquin, who regularly attend the festival. All these posts are hereditary. In the case of the permanent attendants at any rate, I believe that succession to the emoluments and obligations is through the mother—in the female line. I did not, however, inquire closely into this.

'The principal attraction of the festival is the dancing and frenzy of the Nat-kadaws or wives of the Nats. Shwebyingyi is a respectable Nat (Nat-thu-daw-gaung), and has few wives. His brother has many, probably some hundreds, and marries more every year. The phrase is *Maya ka uk thi*, which literally means "to gather or pick up a wife". Many of these Nat-kadaws are married women. Some are of fairly good position; for example, wives of traders, or belonging to the families of subordinate Government officials. Most

are women of low class. I heard a Burman remark how rare it was for either of the Nats to pick up a woman at all good-looking. The Nat-kadaws do not seem to belong exclusively to Shwebyingyi and Shwebyinnge among Nats. They may induce possession by other Nats as well. The usual method is to sit down in a reverent attitude, the eyes closed or fixed and staring; the lips move as in prayer, or a song is sung lamenting the misfortunes of the Nat while in life [cf. the accounts of the Nat mediums, pp. 239 *sqq.*]. The body begins to rock about; presently the Nat-kadaw may leap up from the ground and throw herself down again. After this has gone on for some time, she begins to adopt the demeanour and the voice of a man. This is a sign that the Nat has entered. Her talk is usually pointless, and often coarse. People ask her questions about the life of the Nat and about the future fortunes of themselves or their friends. She answers or ignores these according to the degree of her frenzy, or perhaps of the difficulty of the questions. I imagine that all the Nat-kadaws are subjected to such questioning. I myself should have been afraid to attract their attention to myself, but Burmans appear to be contemptuous of them, even while believing in their inspiration.

'One Nat-kadaw I saw dance was supposed to be possessed by a Shan Nat, and spoke Burmese with a Shan accent. It was noticeable that this accent passed off gradually.

'They dress as men as shown in one of the photographs (Fig. 89), or at the moment of possession make certain changes in the method of wearing the clothes so as to resemble men.

'In deference to the religion of the two brothers, it used to be the custom to refrain from eating pig's flesh at the festival. The salaam (Fig. 89), too, is a mark of respect to the Nats as Mahommedans. The Burman salutation is the *shiko*, a placing of the palms together in front of the chest or forehead.

'There were two ceremonies which I did not see—the washing of the figures of the Nats in the stream, to which I think they are carried in their palanquin, and the dance of the Nat-kadaws round a tree holding knives or swords as if to fell it. The people always rush in and tear the tree to pieces, taking away bits of it as charms. I was unable to get any explanation of this ceremony. There are only a few great Nat-*pwes* in Upper Burma. But in Talaing-speaking parts of Lower Burma [cf. p. 235] every village is said to have its Nat-*pwe*.'

Mr. Carey has kindly sent me a photograph of the Anylin-*pwe* dance, performed by the unmarried daughters of the leading men of Taung-gyi, South Shan States, during the Lieutenant-Governor's

visit in 1905, and also a photograph of a dance of the Kaw tribe, Kingtung State.

Dr. Geis has sent me photographs of the Lissu or Yawyin dance, Burma, China frontier, New Year's Day, February 18, 1912; a Kachin Manaw dance, a Kachin Fan dance, and a Kachin Death or Burial dance (Fig. 92), at Gagan, February, 1904, and a Funeral or Burial dance of the Kachins in the Hukawng Valley, Burma, Assam frontier, unadministered territory, 1906. In the figure can be seen the chief performer in the middle, a young man whose body is covered with white and black stripes. Does he represent the dead person, like the *Thilakapo* of the Tangkuls (p. 213)? But on this I have no information.

B. THE 'INVITING-IN' FEAST OF THE ALASKAN ESKIMO

Mr. E. W. Hawkes[1] has lately published a valuable account of the ceremonies of the two Eskimo tribes, of the Unaligmiut and Unalaklit on the Isle of St. Michael, at the mouth of the Yukon River. In the months of November and December are held local rites, termed the Aiyaguk or 'Asking' festival, and the Tcauiyuk ('Bladder feast'), the last of which is to placate the spirits of animals already slain. But still more important is the Aithukaguk or 'Inviting-In' feast, for it is an appeal to the spirits represented by the masks —the totemic guardians—for future success in hunting. In the Eskimo ritual this festival is only equalled in importance by the Great Feast of the Dead. 'One supplies the material wants of the living, the other the spiritual needs of the dead.' In St. Michael the 'Inviting-In feast' has lost much of its religious character, and is now maintained chiefly for its social utility and as offering an opportunity for trade between two friendly tribes. An old chief remarked that 'they did not dance for pleasure alone, but to attract the game so that their families might be fed. If they did not dance the spirits (*inua*) who attended the feast would be angry and the animals would stay away. The shades of their ancestors would go hungry since there would be no one to feed them, and their own names would be forgotten if no namesake could sing their praises in the dance. There was nothing bad about their dances, which made their hearts good towards each other and tribe friendly with tribe'.

[1] *The 'Inviting-In' Feast of the Alaskan Eskimo* (Ottawa, Government Printing Bureau, 1913, Canada Department of Mines Geological Survey, Memoir 48, No. 3, Anthropological Series).

FIG. 92. A Kachin Death or Burial Dance at Gagan.

The **Kazgi** is the communal house, where the unmarried men live, tribal meetings are held, strangers entertained in the annual dances, and the sweat-bath is taken, whilst it is likewise shared by the spirits (*inua*). An Eskimo, when a child, must gain admittance by gifts to the people and to the *Kazgi inua*, the spirit which is master of the Kazgi, and in manhood he takes his seat on the *ielak* or platform according to his age and rank. Even in death he is represented by a namesake in the Kazgi, who feeds his shade and extols his virtues at the Feast of the Dead. Here the spirits are supposed to sit and enjoy the dances, and offerings of meat and drink are placed there for them, or delivered to them through the cracks in the floor.

Dances and Songs. When a feast is arranged, the people gather nightly in the Kazgi to rehearse the songs, which are taught to them by an old man, whom they requite with gifts. The people sit in darkness, in order that any spirit which may be attracted by the songs may not be frightened away by the lamps. The chorus usually consists of six men, led by the old man, who calls out the words a line ahead. The women and children can join in after the song is started. Both sexes have dances of their own, but occasionally dance together, the woman being in the centre, the men dancing round her. There are inter-tribal competitions, like the *nith* contests of the Greenland Eskimo, each tribe putting forth its best actors.

On the first day there were Comic dances, and the tribe won whose performers made the other laugh. On the second day there were Group dances, and on the third day the Totemic dances. In these last the actors went through the same motions as the ordinary dancers, but fitted their movements to the character presented, and the Eskimo believe that these performers are possessed by the spirits of the animals which they represent—another instance of our doctrine that the actor was originally a medium. These pantomimes began by a performance in which women appropriately costumed went through the household occupations, such as the curing of skins and the making of garments. Next an Unalaklit man wearing an elaborate walrus mask enacted the life of that animal, its chase, and death. Two young men with appropriate masks and fittings next gave the Red Fox dance, which in turn was followed by the White Fox dance, representing the stalking of a ptarmigan by that beast. Finally came the famous Raven dance (cf. p. 360). The dancer came in cawing like that bird, wearing a Raven mask with an immense beak,

bordered with fur and feathers. Presently he disappeared and returned dragging a bashful woman similarly attired. They danced for a short time together, the Raven continuing his amatory capers, until, apparently tired of her, he again disappeared into the crowd, and returned with another bride, evidently younger. The three danced for some time. Then he returned to his first love, who angrily repulsed him as he tried to embrace her, which greatly pleased the audience. This concluded the dance proper. The shaman now donned an *inua* (spirit) mask, and kept running round the entrance with ever-lessening circles, until he collapsed in a trance, while he was communing with the spirit guests, in the fireplace below the Kazgi, as the Eskimo believe.

After a time he revived and told the hunters that the *inua* had been pleased with the dances and promised a successful hunting season (cf. the Vedda ceremony, p. 211). When appropriate offerings of meat, drink, and tobacco had been made to them through the chinks in the floor, the celebrations ended. After the feast is over, the masks used in the dances are burned by the shaman.

C. THE CULT OF SKULLS IN PAPUA (p. 345)

My friend Mr. Wilfred Beaver has kindly sent me a very important addition to the evidence given on page 345 respecting the cult of the skulls of their relations among the Papuans and the burial of such skulls in gardens to ensure good crops :

The Residency,
Buna, Papua,
May 4th, 1915.

Dear Professor Ridgeway,

With reference to your query some little time ago respecting skulls and crops, I have just come across another instance which I think might interest you.

One of my officers was recently on patrol from Kokoda across the Main Range to the head-waters of the Vetapu River. At a village called Manufa, in the Gambisi district, a custom of dealing with the dead was reported to me. The bodies are placed upright in a staked enclosure and the skeletons remain undisturbed until the occasion of a big annual feast or dance, when one or more of these ' graves ' would be broken up and the skull taken and dipped in the blood of

the pigs killed at the feast and then buried in the gardens to 'bless the crops'. I regret I have no further particulars than the above.

With kind regards,

Yours faithfully,
WILFRED BEAVER.

This fact confirms my argument against Dr. Marett's theory of *mana* (pp. 50–1; cf. p. 345), for it shows that the *mana* which makes the land fertile is supposed to be the soul of a dead man or woman, whose skull after having been duly propitiated is deposited in the garden.

Laus Deo, Pax Vivis, Requies Mortuis.

APPENDIX

ON

THE ORIGIN OF GREEK COMEDY AND THE SUDDEN RISE OF THE OLD ATTIC COMEDY

THE ORIGIN OF GREEK COMEDY

AND

THE SUDDEN RISE OF THE OLD ATTIC COMEDY

All writers on the history of Attic Comedy have taken as their starting-point the well-known passage in the *Poetic* in which Aristotle tells us that 'just as Tragedy sprang from the leaders of the dithyramb, so Comedy originated with those of the phallic songs still in use in many of our towns'. But as Greek literary historians had wrongly assumed that the dithyramb was an essential part of the Dionysiac ritual (though Aristotle nowhere says anything of the kind), so too have they taken for granted that the phallic songs to which he refers were also part and parcel of a religious ritual, if not actually Dionysiac at least closely connected with it. Mr. F. M. Cornford,[1] the latest exponent of this view of the origin of Attic Comedy, has put forward the hypothesis that certain 'traditional forms still traceable in the content of the Aristophanic play were inherited from a ritual drama, the contents of which can be reconstructed', and that 'the ritual drama lying behind Comedy proves to be essentially of the same type as that in which Professor Gilbert Murray has sought the origin of Tragedy'. In other words he attempts to prove that Comedy arose in the worship of that strange abstraction invented by Miss Harrison and termed by her Eniautos Daimon, this abstraction and its name being unknown to the Greeks. But as in the present volume I have shown that the theory of Professor Murray, Miss Harrison and Mr. Cornford set forth in *Themis* is not only baseless, but is in direct opposition to a vast array of facts collected from all parts of the world, it follows that with the collapse of the Eniautos Daimon theory of the origin of Tragedy, the like hypothesis for the origin of Comedy also falls to the ground.

Yet it may be worth while to put together within short compass all the views of the Greeks themselves respecting the origin and rise of Comedy, and these will be found to be no less fatal to Mr. Cornford's views. Concurrently with this it may be worth while to inquire into

[1] *The Origin of Attic Comedy* (1914).

the causes which led to the sudden outburst of the Old Comedy between 460 and 453 B.C. For the current assumption that the Old Comedy arose with the birth of Attic freedom after the expulsion of Hippias and the establishment of the democracy in 510 B.C., and that both waned and perished together, is not borne out by the actual facts. It cannot be maintained that the Old Comedy came into being as a consequence of the overthrow of the despot and the Constitution of Cleisthenes in 507 B.C., since nearly half a century elapsed before Chionides and Magnes, Cratinus and Crates come within our ken. On the other hand it had wholly collapsed three-quarters of a century before Athens lost her freedom in 322 B.C.

No less contrary to Aristotle's explicit statements is the current view of the rise of Comedy than that of the origin of Tragedy. Both theories deliberately contravene Aristotle's considered statement that 'the tragedians were the lineal descendants of the Epic poets, the comedians of the ancient lampooners'. He thus sets back its origin to the primitive stage, when literature is in its cradle and when those more gifted than their fellows, seeking for a mode of expressing their thoughts, fall into two natural classes, those who like the serious and the noble and those who like the grotesque and the ignoble. There seems no reason for doubting the truth of this doctrine. From the earliest times there have been in every race jokers and lampooners. Even amongst the lower animals there are some more prone than others to humorous pranks: thus some dogs, such as poodles, can be trained to be clowns, and even a clown cat is not unknown. Thus here as in so many other cases Aristotle has got down to the bedrock in his analysis. The tendency to jesting and humorous grossness naturally develops faster in those regions and amongst those races where the people settle down in villages and towns, and in every such community there have been wags and scurrilous jesters, such as those termed *bdeluroi*, 'blackguards', by the Greeks, and of whom Theophrastus has left us an immortal description in one of his characters. It is therefore futile to inquire in what particular community lampooning first began, or where the farce first started into life, even though we may happen to know that at Sparta and at Megara there were some such rude performances, and that from one of them Athens may have borrowed some form of comic entertainment. Indeed we might as well attempt to prove that the practice of laughing and the appreciation of the grotesque started in some one particular tribe, race or town, and that from thence it spread to other less gifted communities.

In view of this special tendency for lampooning to develop in

settled communities, the Dorians may have been right in deriving the term *Comoedia* from κώμη, 'a village', rather than from κῶμος, 'a procession', more especially since the latter in the older Greek literature, e.g. the Homeric Hymn to Hermes, has a highly respectable connotation (φιλοκυδέα κῶμον), whilst in Pindar's noble Odes (themselves termed *Komoi*) it has a similar sense as it is regularly applied to processions singing hymns in honour of heroes and victors in the Great Games.

In Athens there was the same irresistible tendency to scurrilize and lampoon one's enemies as in the rest of Greece. Thus more than one ancient writer relates that the country folk of Attica, when injured by their neighbours in the town, used to come by night and sing personal lampoons at the doors of those who had wronged them in order to excite public feeling against them. Another tradition avers that this custom was found so useful that it was legalized, and that the demonstrators disguised themselves by daubing their faces with the lees of wine (*trux*) in order to escape the consequences, and that hence arose the term *trugoidos* often applied to a comic actor. There can be little doubt that the Greeks themselves were right in regarding such lampooning and scurrility as the ultimate source of Comedy, for as we shall presently see, the *Parabasis* or 'topical song', so marked an element in the Old Comedy, was probably the lineal descendant of the rude lampoon.

But though the tendency to mock at the grotesque and to ridicule one's enemies prevails and has prevailed in every human community, it was and is often dangerous to indulge in such sallies under monarchical and oligarchical rule, since *laesa maiestas* has not been confined to modern Germany, and under the oligarchies which replaced monarchies in so many ancient communities it was as dangerous to make butts of great nobles as of kings or despots. T. Naevius, the Roman poet, found this to his cost when he said of the great house of the Metelli,

fato fiunt Metelli consules Romai ;

for not only did they reply,

dabunt malum Metelli Naeuio poetae,

but kept their word by having him chained and imprisoned, to which there is probably an allusion in the *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus :[1]

nam os columnatum poetae esse indaudiui barbaro,
quoi bini custodes semper totis horis accubant.

[1] ii. 2. 58 9.

But even when it may have been dangerous to scurrilize the powerful, there can be no doubt that both Greeks and Italians, like all other races, sharpened their wits and enjoyed themselves at the expense of their neighbours or on others who were powerless to retort. As certain modern scholars assume openly or tacitly that all obscenity is religious, and even seem to go further and to assume that all religion is obscene, it may here be pointed out that neither in the lampoons of Naevius upon the Metelli nor in any such literature is there anything in any wise connected with magic or religion. There are certainly many obscene forms of religion, but there are also many obscene jests and songs, which are absolutely unconnected with any religious or magical motive. Accordingly it must not be assumed that because Aristotle treats Comedy as arising from gross phallic songs, he therefore regards these songs as in any sense religious. Even on religious occasions there were plenty of jests and gestures which had no connexion whatever with the ceremonial which gave them opportunity. Thus at Athens, when the great procession of the Mystae was on its way to Eleusis, hymning Iacchus, the crowd of loafers at the bridge (*gephura*) jeered and mocked at them, from which arose the term *Gephurismos* (cf. 'Billingsgate'), whilst the women from the wagons in the procession flung repartees so gross and pungent that 'jests from a wagon' (*σκώμματα ἐξ ἁμάξης*) became a proverbial expression for the worst scurrility. Yet no sane person would maintain that this indecency formed any part of the sacred rites of Eleusis. Again, in Italy no less famous was the little Etruscan town of Fescennium on the Tiber, not far from Falerii, for its scurrilous dialogues in verse, from which arose the proverbial expression *licentia Fescennina*.

It might naturally be surmised, even if we had no positive evidence, that in a democratic state the lampooner and his successor the comic poet would meet with far more favourable conditions than under the rigid rule of a monarch or the stern sense of decorum maintained by a nobility. But the history of Greek Comedy itself supplies us with indisputable evidence. Some time not far from 600 B.C. Theagenes the despot of Megara was expelled and a democracy was set up. As we know from Aristotle,[1] not only did the Megarians claim to be founders of Comedy but declared that it arose in consequence of the establishment of their democracy. With this fact before us, it may be worth while to inquire whether the same principle may account in any wise for that sudden outburst of the Old Comedy at Athens, which

[1] *Poet.* 1448 *a* 30–3 : *τῆς μὲν γὰρ κωμῳδίας οἱ Μεγαρεῖς οἵ τε ἐνταῦθα ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς δημοκρατίας γενομένης κτλ.*

writers have so constantly discussed but for which they do not seem to have found any satisfactory solution.

With respect to the early Megarian buffoons and ribald jokers, who are commonly dignified with the name of 'the Megarian School', with respect to the rude farces of Sparta performed by men (always Helots or Perioeci) termed *Deikeliktai*, and with regard also to the early Attic lampooners, Aristotle is as silent as he is about all the pioneers of Tragedy down to Aeschylus. But the reason for this is different. He deliberately passed over Epigenes, Thespis, Pratinas, Choerilus, and Phrynichus, because he was concerned only with Tragedy as the perfect art, whereas in the case of Comedy his silence is also due to lack of information. 'Though', writes he,[1] 'the successive steps in the development of Tragedy and their authors are not unknown, the same cannot be said of Comedy. The latter in its earliest stages passed unnoticed because it was not as yet treated with seriousness. It was only at a late period that the Archon granted a chorus of comedians. Previously they had been mere volunteers. When the record of those termed the comic poets begins, Comedy had already taken certain definite forms (*schemata*). No one knows who assigned it masks or prologues or the successive numbers of actors and the like.'

Megara. But as we know from other sources of Epigenes and the other early tragedians just mentioned, so, too, are we afforded some glimpses of those who made the first steps in the development of regular Comedy out of ribald abuse, gross buffoonery, and pantomime. The names of three of these Megarian entertainers have reached us—Susarion, Maeson, and Tolynus. Of these Susarion was both the earliest and in the eyes of the ancients the most important. Son of Philinus and born at Tripodiscus in the Megarid, he made his way, probably as a strolling showman, into Attica, and is said to have settled at Icaria, the birthplace of Thespis, somewhere between 580 and 564 B.C.[2] Though his importance chiefly depends upon the assumption that he introduced something like a form of farce into Attica and was regarded as having been the first to employ verse in his performances, this does not imply that he did anything more than employ some form of rude metre in his improvisations.

Maeson was in favour at the court of the Peisistratidae, and accordingly his date falls between 527 and 510 B.C. According to so good an authority as Aristophanes of Byzantium, cited by

[1] *Poetic*, 1449 *b* 1–5.
[2] Plut. *Solon*, 10; *Marmor Parium*, 39.

Athenaeus,[1] he was a native of Nisaean Megara and was the inventor of a mask called after him *Maeson*, and of the conventional masks of the Cook (*Mageiros*) and the Servant (*Therapon*), whilst the stock jests appropriate to these characters were termed *Maesonic*. But it is doubtful whether he was really a native of the Greek Megara, since Polemon (also cited by Athenaeus) in his criticisms of Timaeus (of Locri) maintained that Maeson was a Sicilian and not a Nisaean Megarian.

Sicily. There can be no doubt that Aristotle is right in holding that in Sicily, if not at the Hyblaean Megara, Comedy first took its real shape. Of its early history and stages in Sicily we know no more than of those in the Megarid and in Attica. But, as the Sicilians were noted in the ancient world for their shrewdness and clever subtleties, and as two of that race, Corax and Tisias, were the founders of sophistical rhetoric, we might assume without rashness, even if we had no evidence, that they had a full share from the earliest times of ribald jests and biting personalities. But evidence of this is not lacking, for Eusebius states that one Aristoxenus of Selinus was 'the first of those who recited iambics according to the ancient fashion', and he is also credited with being the first to use anapaestic metres. His date is placed by Eusebius in 664 B.C., though others simply state that he was anterior to Epicharmus. If Eusebius is correct, he was lampooning in iambic metre in Sicily very soon after rage had armed Archilochus with that metre (714–676 B.C.), which he used unmercifully in Eastern Hellas.

The people of Hyblaean Megara based their claim to the invention of Comedy on the ground that Epicharmus, who was long anterior to Chionides and Magnes of Athens, was theirs. But as we shall soon see from the lives of Epicharmus and his contemporary Phormis, this claim as well as that of the Dorians in general to Comedy was just as insubstantial as that put forward by the latter people to Tragedy. Moreover, though Aristotle expressly holds that Epicharmus and Phormis were the inventors of the *muthos* or plot, and that this was adopted in Attica by Chionides and Magnes, who were considerably later than Epicharmus, he does not endorse the claim of the Megarians to that great man.

Epicharmus. In his *Lives of the Philosophers* Diogenes Laertius has left us a short biography of Epicharmus, but as he treats him purely as one of the 'philosophic family' and disdained to mention his dramatic writings, we would know nothing about the great

[1] xiv. 659 A.

contribution made to dramatic literature by him were it not for Suidas. From his short but invaluable notice we learn that Epicharmus was the son of Elotheles, a physician of Cos, in which island his famous son was born in about 540 B.C., and whence when but three months old he passed with his father to Sicilian Megara. But as his father belonged to the Asclepiad clan, and as the Asclepiads were certainly not Dorians, neither can that race in general nor the Hyblaean Megarians in particular claim him as their own. When the boy grew to man's estate, he embraced the tenets of Pythagoras and made Syracuse the scene of his life's work. He wrote on Natural Science, Philosophy, and Medicine; he composed gnomes and left also a series of memoirs when he died at the age of ninety. As a dramatist he was no less active, since he wrote fifty-two comedies or according to others thirty-five. In these plays Comedy for the first time took formal shape, since he and his contemporary Phormis were the first to use plots (*muthoi*) and regular dialogues. His compositions, however, were simply burlesques on the heroic themes which formed the usual subjects of the tragic performances of the time.

The most famous of his plays was the *Marriage of Hebe to Heracles*, in which that hero was degraded for the first time by being represented as a glutton. Dr. Mahaffy is probably right in holding that the degradation in Greek literature of Odysseus, Agamemnon and Menelaus may also have been due to Epicharmus. In a certain sense, therefore, he may be regarded as the Cervantes of Greece, for as the latter laughed mediaeval chivalry to death, so Epicharmus was the first to make the great ones of the Heroic Age the butts for popular ridicule. But as Epicharmus is said to have created the character of the conventional Parasite in his *Elpis*, he was also the founder of the comedy of manners as well as of the burlesque. The date of his dramatic activity is well ascertained, for as he was in high favour with Gelon (485–478 B.C.) and with his brother and successor Hieron (478–467 B.C.), there seems no doubt that his dramatic activity should be placed between 485 and 467 B.C. But, as we shall soon find that his fellow dramatist Phormis was at work in the reign of Gelon, we may place the date of the birth of true Comedy in the reign of that monarch (485–478 B.C.). As Epicharmus was born about 540 B.C., and lived to be ninety, his death may be placed about 450 B.C., a date which tallies well with a statement respecting an attack made on him by Magnes the Attic comedian, then a young man.

Phormis. Respecting Phormis we fortunately possess some very

important facts. In the first place, like Epicharmus he was neither a born Megarian nor even a Sicilian, and was most certainly not a Dorian, for we know from Pausanias [1] that he was a native of Maenalus in Arcadia, that from thence he emigrated to Sicily to the court of Gelon, son of Deinomenes, and that by distinguishing himself in the campaigns of that king and afterwards in those of his brother Hieron, he attained to such wealth that he was able to set up certain dedications at Olympia seen there by Pausanias, and others also at Delphi. Those at Olympia were statues of two horses, each with a groom beside it. There were also three statues of Phormis himself in a row, confronting in each case a foeman. The legend on these set forth that they were dedicated by Lycortas of Syracuse, apparently a friend and admirer. Like Aeschylus, the true founder of Attic tragedy, and Cyril Tourneur, one of the most potent spirits of the Elizabethan drama, Phormis was thus a soldier as well as a dramatist. Indeed, in view of the fact that the Arcadians in every age went forth in considerable numbers from their native mountains, like the Highlanders of Scotland, to take service with any one who wanted a man who could wield a good spear and draw a good sword, it was probably in such a capacity that Phormis went to seek and found his fortune at the court of Gelon. According to Suidas he became a member of that monarch's household and tutor to his children, and wrote eight comedies—*Admetus*, *Alcinous*, *The Fall of Ilium*, *Perseus*, *Cepheus* or *Cephaleia*, *Alcyones*, *Hippus*, and *Atalanta*. From their names it is obvious that his plays were all burlesques of familiar epic and tragic themes, not excepting that on his own national heroine, Atalanta. He was the first who arrayed a (comic) actor in a robe reaching to the feet, and employed a background (*skene*) adorned with skins dyed red. The use in Comedy for the first time of long dignified robes was probably, like the plot, a consequence of the burlesquing of heroic themes.

From the facts just cited respecting Epicharmus and Phormis it is clear that neither the Megarians nor the Dorians had any real claim to the invention of true Comedy, since neither of its founders was a Sicilian nor yet a Dorian. Thus the pretensions of the latter race to the invention of Comedy were as baseless as those to the creation of the tragic art.

The Attic School. Epicharmus and Phormis had lifted Comedy from mere buffoonery and scurrility into a regular form of art by adopting the plot as well as the themes from the tragedies which

[1] v. 27. 1.

they burlesqued before the death of Gelon in 478 B.C. and certainly before that of Hieron in 467 B.C. Now as Aristotle[1] declares that Epicharmus was long prior to Chionides and Magnes, whom he holds to be the earliest two Attic comedians, but on the other hand Epicharmus did not die till about 450 B.C., it is clear that the priority of Epicharmus to the two Athenians to which Aristotle refers is not that of actual lifetime but of the adoption of the tragic plot. But as this had been done by Epicharmus and Phormis not earlier than 485 B.C. and certainly not later than 467 B.C., and as by the term 'much earlier' he cannot have meant a period of less than twenty or twenty-five years, the activity of Chionides and Magnes as writers of true Comedy cannot be placed earlier than 460 B.C.

Chionides. The evidence of Aristotle respecting Chionides is supported by a fragment of the poet's own *Beggars* (*Ptochoi*), cited by Athenaeus,[2] in which mention is made of Mnesippus, a contemporary of Cratinus, though Athenaeus also goes on to say that some ancient critics consider this play to be spurious. With the statement of Aristotle and the evidence of this fragment, supposing it to be genuine, the brief account of Chionides given by Suidas (*s.v.*) has been thought to be at variance. According to it Chionides was a writer of the Old Comedy, and 'was bringing out' (*διδάσκειν*) eight years before the Persian War, i.e. in 487 B.C. But this discrepancy is only apparent and not real. There is no reason why Chionides might not have been giving some sort of entertainments, like the old Megarian farces, in 487 B.C., and yet not have adopted from Epicharmus and Phormis the fully developed Comedy with the plot until some twenty or twenty-five years later, for, as we have seen, there is no doubt that Aristotle simply refers to him and Magnes as the first to introduce to Athens the completed form originated in Sicily by Epicharmus and Phormis. That some sort of rude comic mummeries, in which masks such as those of Maeson were used, were in vogue at Athens at the period to which the first appearance of Chionides is referred is made certain by another passage of Suidas, in which he states that at the time when Epicharmus was first bringing out his plays at Syracuse six years before the Persian War (i. e. in 485 B.C., the date of Gelon's accession), Evetes, Euxenides and Myllus were giving displays (*ἐπεδείκνυντο*) at Athens. As we know from Aristophanes that Magnes continued to adhere to the old Megarian farce, it is highly probable that not only

[1] *Poet.* 1448 *a* 33: *πολλῷ πρότερος ὢν Χιωνίδου καὶ Μάγνητος.*

[2] xiv. 638 A.

Evetes, Euxenides and Myllus, but also Chionides were giving entertainments of the old Megarian type at Athens as early as 485 B.C. But as Aristotle is only concerned with the first appearance of the fully developed Comedy, he not only ignores altogether the first three of these writers, but also the early efforts of Chionides.

Magnes. The scanty extant evidence for the life of Magnes, who is linked with Chionides as one of the first two real comic writers of Athens, points clearly to the conclusion that his career as a true playwright falls later than 460 B.C. Suidas (*s.v.*) says that when a young man he attacked Epicharmus, then in his old age. But as Epicharmus seems not to have died before 450 B.C., this statement fits in well with our other data. Aristophanes in his *Knights*[1] (424 B.C.) speaks of Magnes' death at an advanced age as a recent event. From these facts, combined with the oft-cited passage of Aristotle, it has been reasonably inferred that he flourished about the 80th Olympiad, 460 B.C. and onwards.

According to Suidas he was a native of Icaria in Attica, or of Athens herself. The most important evidence for his literary career is the passage just cited from the *Knights* of Aristophanes. From this and the valuable scholia on it we learn that he wrote plays called the *Harpers* (*Barbatistai*), the *Maggots* (*Psenes*), the *Birds* and the *Frogs*, that with the coming of his grey hairs he lost his once great popularity, which had enabled him to set up many trophies for the victories won by his choruses, and that he was hissed off the stage when he had lost his capacity for scurrilous jesting. From the last-named of his plays just cited it seems that Aristophanes borrowed at least the titles, if not the themes, for two of his own most famous works.

According to Suidas, Magnes exhibited nine plays and gained two victories, which is at variance with the statement of Aristophanes that he had won many times. On the other hand the anonymous writer on Comedy avers that he won eleven victories, but that none of his plays were preserved, though nine were falsely ascribed to him. As Magnes is the earliest comic poet of whom any victories are recorded, and as we are told by Aristotle that 'it was only at a late date that the comic poet was furnished by the archon with a chorus', and as a victory implies a public contest, and that in turn implies a chorus at the public expense, the custom of furnishing comic choruses must be assigned to a period posterior to 460 B.C.

Cratinus, son of Callimedes, was the eldest of that brilliant triad of the Old Comedy,

> Eupolis atque Cratinus Aristophanesque poetae,

[1] 524.

but of the details of his life little is known with certainty, except that he lived to be ninety-seven, that he died after he produced in 423 B.C. his *Pytine*, 'Flagon', a reply to the gibes of Aristophanes in his *Knights* exhibited in the previous year (424 B.C.), that he gained the first prize, Ameipsias being second with his *Connus* and Aristophanes third with the *Clouds*. We are further told by Lucian that he did not long survive his final triumph, whilst we learn from the *Peace* of Aristophanes, acted in 419 B.C., that Cratinus had died of grief at the breaking of a jar of wine by the Lacedaemonians in some incursion which must have been prior to the Peace of Nicias in 421 B.C. As his death falls probably in 422 B.C. and his age was then ninety-seven, his birth may be placed about 520–519 B.C., or some five years later than that of Aeschylus, who stands to Tragedy much as Cratinus does to the Old Comedy. He wrote thirty-one plays and gained nine victories. Eusebius states that he began to exhibit in Ol. 81. 3, 454–453 B.C., whilst the anonymous writer on Comedy states that he gained his first victory in Ol. 85, i.e. after 437 B.C., when he was more than eighty. The critics have treated this last statement with incredulity because in one of his fragments he attacks Pericles for his delay in completing the Long Walls, which were finished in 451 B.C., and because there are some other fragments apparently belonging to an earlier period than 437 B.C. It is further alleged that the plays of Cratinus were acted by Crates before the latter began to exhibit for himself, which he did in 449–448 B.C. But the critics, as usual, have overleaped themselves, for there is no discrepancy between the statement of the anonymous writer and the other evidence, since he does not say that Cratinus did not exhibit before 437 B.C., but that he did not gain a victory until after that date, whilst Eusebius does not state that he won in 454–453 B.C., but that he began to exhibit in that year. The critics have thus assumed that to exhibit is to win. But we shall find that there are good grounds for believing that both Eusebius and the anonymous writer are right. Aristotle, though he knew well about Cratinus and his victory with the *Flagon*, makes no mention of him in his brief statement of the real rise of Attic Comedy, but gives the place of honour to Crates, who had acted for Cratinus before exhibiting his own plays. Why is this? He[1] names Crates because he was 'the first of the Athenians who dropped the invective style (ἡ ἰαμβική) and framed dialogues and plots of a general (i.e. non-personal) character'. Cratinus therefore fails to make this great step in which he was

[1] *Poet.* 1449 *b* 7: τῶν δὲ Ἀθήνησιν Κράτης πρῶτος ἦρξεν ἀφέμενος τῆς ἰαμβικῆς ἰδέας καθόλου ποιεῖν λόγους καὶ μύθους.

anticipated by his own actor, and adhered to and even aggravated the old style of violent personal invective. Moreover, he was an ardent member of the Conservative party, a warm panegyrist of Cimon, and a merciless detractor of Pericles, who, after the murder of Ephialtes in 462 B.C. had become the chief leader of the Demos. It would have indeed been strange had the verdict of a theatre packed with democrats assigned the first prize to such attacks on their idol as those in which Cratinus lashed Pericles for his tardiness in completing the Long Walls, but to this point we shall revert.

As regards his personal character, there is no doubt that he was much addicted to the wine-cup, as he himself admitted in his famous rejoinder to Aristophanes, in which he represented himself as having fallen completely under the influence of his mistress Pytine, i.e. wine-cup, who was personified on the stage as an attractive courtesan. But it may be questioned whether the charge of being 'a greater coward than Epeius' (the maker of the Wooden Horse), cited by Suidas, made against him when Taxiarch of the tribe Oeneis, was equally well founded, for he must have had amongst his victims many ready to retaliate with any convenient calumny.

His chief contribution to the Old Comedy, in the words of an anonymous writer, was that 'he added the useful to the pleasing in Comedy by accusing evil-doers and punishing them with Comedy as with a public scourge'; and as was said by another ancient,[1] 'he hurled his reproaches in the most direct and plainest of terms at the bare heads of the offenders.'

Let us now sum up the results of this brief survey of the ancient evidence for the origin and development of Greek Comedy in general and the Old Attic Comedy in particular: (1) it is certain that in every age, in every race, and in every community there always have been those with a special sense for the grotesque and a natural bent for mocking at the weakness and foibles of their friends, neighbours, grave and reverend signiors, and especially of their personal enemies; (2) it is equally certain that no particular part of Greece nor any particular town had a monopoly of this fundamental element, though in some towns, as at Athens and Megara, there might be a greater aptitude for humorous outbursts than in others; (3) there is not a scintilla of evidence for any connexion between such humorous scurrilities and any religious cult; (4) on the contrary, there is substantial proof that such forms of merriment were held in abhorrence by the respectable members of the community, as is made clear from the attitude of the Spartans towards the *Deikeliktai*,[2]

[1] Platonius, *de Com.*, p. 27. [2] Plut. *Ages.*, 21.

which would not have been the case had their performances been of a religious character; (5) moreover, we are told that Attic Comedy had its origin in the lampooning by the country-people of their oppressors in the town, which certainly cannot be considered a piece of religious ritual; (6) furthermore, Aristotle declared that in the early Attic Comedy the performers were merely 'volunteers', and that it was only late that the archon provided a comic chorus, which he certainly would have done from the very outset if it had been a religious performance, as was the case with Tragedy proper and the Satyric drama; (7) this is corroborated by the fact that in Sicily its earliest form was also the Iambic lampoon, and that it was not as a religious ceremony but as a court amusement that the first step in the creation of full Comedy was made at Syracuse by Epicharmus; (8) but as this advance consisted in borrowing and burlesquing the *muthoi* or plots of tragedies already long in vogue, which were essentially religious, the fully developed Sicilian Comedy was most certainly the converse of religious; (9) in Attica some sort of rude farces were probably grafted on to the indigenous lampoons, first by Susarion of Megara, later by Maeson, who, though not the first inventor of comic masks, was at least the deviser of certain character masks and thus helped to produce one of those early forms (*schemata*) to which Aristotle refers as leading up to the fully developed type; (10) about the same time that Epicharmus and Phormis made their great advance by borrowing the plot from Tragedy, Evetes, Euxenides, Myllus, and Chionides were producing at Athens some combination of the Old Attic lampoon and Megarian farces; (11) some time later than 460 B.C. and before 450 B.C. Chionides and Magnes borrowed the plot from Epicharmus and Phormis, and thus established for the first time in Attica true comedy, but in it the personal lampoon still remained a chief element as the Parabasis or topical song continued to play an important part in the Old Comedy; (12) it was Crates, the actor of Cratinus, who (according to Aristotle) was the first to shake off to a considerable degree the old personal lampooning element by framing plots and dialogues on general themes, and thus raised it from being merely a burlesque of the heroic, as it was in the hands of Epicharmus and Phormis, to a higher plane, to which, however, the former seems to have pointed the way in his comedies of manners; (13) it is in connexion with the name of Magnes, which is linked by Aristotle with Chionides, that we first hear of victories with comic choruses, and thus indirectly of public contests between such choruses; but as such contests were at the public expense, we may place between 460 B.C. and 450 B.C. the

first granting of comic choruses by the archon; (14) thus, in the later stages of its development at Athens there is no more evidence for its being religious in origin than in the ancient accounts of its first beginnings; (15) thus, on the ancient evidence from first to last we are led irresistibly to reject Mr. Cornford's theory as summarily as we have elsewhere done from the examination of the Eniautos Daimon hypothesis; (16) finally, we have been forced by the convergence of many lines of argument to the conclusion that the great and sudden outburst of the Old Comedy did not begin with the expulsion of the Peisistratidae in 510 B.C. and the setting up of the new constitution by Cleisthenes in 507 B.C., but rather that this singular and sudden emergence took place about 460 B.C. and in the immediately succeeding years.

The Sudden Rise of the Old Comedy.

The extreme freedom enjoyed by the writers of the Old Comedy has induced in historians even from Roman times a belief that it must have been chartered by some positive enactment after the establishment of the democracy by Cleisthenes or at some time later. But though Cicero[1] says that the Greeks had a law to enable the comedians to assail by name any individual they pleased, there is no trace of any such ordinance in the whole range of Attic literature; yet, as we shall soon see, there was more than one attempt to curtail by legislation its unbridled liberty of personal attack. But a brief survey of the political history of Athens in the years immediately preceding 460 B.C. will readily explain why the Old Comedy suddenly leaped into prominence about that date, without any positive enfranchising enactment.

Now down to two years before that date there had been in Athens from the remotest times one body which had the fullest powers to control and punish all those guilty of any breach of public morals and decorum, and it thus had the functions exercised in our day by the Lord Chamberlain as censor of plays. Furthermore, there can be little doubt that these powers were duly exercised to the great benefit of the community, if occasion arose, by that immemorial authority, which was of course the venerable council (*Boule*) which derived its name from that Hill of Ares whereon in later times at least it held its sittings.

First let us demonstrate that the Areopagus held these far-reaching and undefined powers from time immemorial; and if we can then

[1] *de Rep.* iv. 10: 'apud quos (Graecos) fuit etiam lege concessum, ut quod vellet Comoedia de quo vellet, nominatim diceret.'

show that it had been shorn of its wide authority almost wholly between 463 and 460 B.C., it will be obvious that the abolition of its censorship was in effect the chartering of unbridled licence of public attack and scurrilous invective.

It has been a commonplace with that large class of writers who eulogize without any discrimination everything Athenian (sometimes even vice) to describe the Old Comedy as co-extensive with the beginning and the end of the most glorious period of Athens and her democracy. Yet as we have already seen, the Old Comedy did not stand forth in all its unabashed nakedness until half a century after the expulsion of Hippias, whilst no one would deny that the most splendid page in Attic history is that on which is blazoned the story of the Persian wars, of Marathon, Salamis and of Plataea, the establishment of the Confederacy of Delos and thereby of the Athenian Hegemony in 478 B.C. and its consolidation by Aristides and Cimon in the subsequent years, down to the fall of the latter under the attacks of the young Pericles in 461 B.C. The truth is that so far from Old Comedy growing up when Athens was rising to her zenith, it really owed its sudden prominence to the fatal act which cut away for ever the sheet-anchor of the Athenian constitution and set the ship of State to drift with ever accelerated velocity down the shoals and shallows of undiluted democracy to suffer final wreck at Aegospotami in 405 B.C.

The glory of saving Athens and Hellas belonged not to the democracy but to her ancient aristocracy, for in the evil day she owed her salvation to the Areopagus.

The Areopagus. There can be no reasonable doubt that this famous body, or rather its ancient nucleus, went right back to the shadowy days of the ancient monarchy, and that it represented the Chief's Council of Elders, thus corresponding to the *Gerousia* of Sparta and the *Senatus* at Rome, for wherever monarchical government is known, the monarch has always had some such body of advisers. There can also be no doubt that when the hereditary chief was replaced first by one elected for life, then by one appointed for ten years, and finally by nine annual archons, the Areopagus had had an unbroken continuity, not unlikely also with powers increased according as those of the chieftain waned.

According to Aristotle,[1] in the time of Draco, and we know not how long before, the Areopagus was entrusted with the duties of safeguarding the constitution and of discharging many other and these too the most important functions in the State, with the fullest

[1] *Pol. Ath.* iii. 6: κολάζουσα καὶ ζημιοῦσα πάντας τοὺς ἀκοσμοῦντας κυρίως.

authority to chastise or fine all disorderly persons, this great authority being due to the fact that it was composed of those who had held the office of archon. Its numbers at this early period are not known. Some modern writers hold that it had sixty members, made up of fifteen from each of the four tribes, these sixty including the nine archons; others, again, suppose that the number was 300 or 360, representing the ancient *gene* or *gentes*. But as soon as it became customary for the archons to be added automatically to the Areopagus at the end of their period of office, the number would begin to vary. There seems no reason why this practice should not have begun with the creation of the annual archonship (as suggested by Sir F. Kenyon), though we have no definite information on the point. Solon, who, as we are told by Aristotle, retained all the institutions that he found existing, though with modifications, continued to the Areopagus their ancient duties as guardians of the constitution and probably enlarged their scope by making it their duty to see that the archons exercised their functions constitutionally, for any one who thought that he had been illegally treated by a magistrate had a full right of appeal to that august tribunal. Under the domination of Peisistratus and his sons, though it probably retained theoretically its powers, yet naturally in practice it lost all control. After the re-establishment of the republic and the reforms of Cleisthenes in 507 B.C. (amongst which was the creation of the new Boule of Five Hundred), the Areopagus lost still further in authority, and with the steady growth of democracy this process continued until the Mede was at the gate in 480 B.C. In that dark hour it was not glib demagogues but men of courage and honesty of which Athens had sore need. But where were they to be found? Not amongst the Ten Generals, who under the new democratic constitution had control over military and naval matters, for not only did these worthies collapse in presence of the danger, but even opened negotiations with the enemy to secure their personal safety. The new Boule of Five Hundred was no better. In this desperate plight the people turned instinctively to the ancient aristocracy and armed the Areopagus with dictatorial powers. Their confidence was well placed. The Areopagus promptly recalled exiles like Aristides, distributed eight drachms apiece to the poorer citizens to provide for their immediate wants, made them embark on the ships and proceed to Salamis. Thus the ancient aristocratic Boule wrought the salvation of Athens and of Greece. In consequence of this splendid achievement, for the next sixteen years the Athenians cheerfully left in the hands of the Areopagus the helm of the State, and in the words of

Aristotle 'they were well governed in those times'. Under this régime the Confederacy of Delos was established in 478 B.C., and with it Athens obtained the Hegemony of Hellas and thus reached her zenith not under democratic but under aristocratic leaders. Foremost of these were Aristides and Themistocles, the one a master of all that appertained to war, the other pre-eminent in every political art, but lacking that honesty which gave his compeer the surname of the Just. The former acted as the Captain-General, the latter as chief counsellor of the State.

But democratic memories are proverbially short, and the Athenian populace in no long time began to forget the cause of its prosperity and to boast that itself had saved the state at Salamis. Ambitious men were not slow to take advantage of this growing feeling, and chief of these was Ephialtes, a man held in repute for his honesty and loyalty to the constitution. He became the leader of the popular party, and in 463 B.C. he began his attack upon the Areopagus. His first step was to bring charges of corruption against certain members of that body in the conduct of public business, and he secured the removal of many of them from their office. His next move was to strip the Areopagus itself of its great administrative and controlling powers. In this he was aided by Themistocles, who was then on the point of being arraigned by that body on a charge of traitorous correspondence with the Persians. He and Ephialtes charged the Areopagites with conspiring against the established constitution, in the first place before the Five Hundred and later before the full assembly. Their strenuous efforts at last worked up the feelings of the masses to such a pitch that they deprived the ancient Boule of its guardianship of the constitution and its general powers of supervision and control, and assigned these functions partly to the Five Hundred (who had cut so sorry a figure in the Persian crisis), partly to the popular assembly and partly to law-courts. The overthrow of the Areopagus was accomplished in the archonship of Conon, 462 B.C.

As Ephialtes was assassinated shortly after he had effected his design, his death falls in the same year. He had evidently left the Areopagus some shadow of its ancient administrative power, for of this it was finally deprived by Pericles. It may be that Aeschylus's noble defence of the Areopagus in his *Eumenides* in 458 B.C. was an attempt to save some last remnant of this as well as their judicial power. But in the end the Areopagus was left no function save the duty of trying those accused of wilful murder, arson, or poisoning. As it had been thus deprived of its powers of general control (*epimeleia*) over 'all disorderly persons', there was no

one henceforth to perform the duties of *censor morum* and of censor of plays. When therefore Chionides, Magnes, Cratinus, and Crates began in their performances to give rein to their personal antipathies, there was no magistrate nor magisterial body to check their ribaldry, no matter how slanderous or obscene. It is amusing to know that Pericles, the lieutenant of Ephialtes in the degradation of the Areopagus, should himself have been probably one of the first of the public men at Athens to suffer under the scourge which he himself had placed in the hands of Cratinus and the rest. How far he resented or enjoyed the onslaught of the great comedian, we have no record. But human nature is much the same in every age, and it is certain that demagogues invariably turn tyrants, if they get the power—witness the Long Parliament, which, in the words of Cromwell, became 'the horridest tyranny of the world'. It is therefore not unlikely that Pericles may have often felt as did Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Lowe and Mr. John Bright, when, in Mr. Gladstone's first administration, they were represented on the boards of a London theatre in a delightful comedy called *The Happy Land*. Now, as so often happens with men of their several types, Nature, having denied them a saving sense of humour, had sought to compensate this want by endowing them with a superabundance of self-esteem. Accordingly they soon set the Lord Chamberlain in motion and the play was promptly suppressed.

By 444–443 B.C. Pericles had become the sole leader of the Demos, and soon held in his hands the complete control of the State, since in that year also he secured the banishment of Thucydides, son of Melesias, the last leader of the aristocratic party, which henceforth ceased to have any political weight. By 440 B.C. Pericles was at the height of his power; the Parthenon was approaching completion and Pheidias was putting the finishing touches to the great ivory and gold statue of Athena, all at the cost of the allies. It was not surprising that in this very year Samos rose in revolt. Pericles took command of the punitive expedition, and the unhappy island, which had hitherto enjoyed some semblance of freedom, was reduced to complete subjection. In this same year also (the archonship of Morychides) a decree was passed to prevent the comic poets from assailing any individual by name.[1] But as Pericles was now paramount, it seems very unlikely that any decree could have been passed without either his initiative or at least without his sanction. It is therefore probable that Pericles, who forms such a remarkable parallel in many ways to Mr. Gladstone, was actuated by the same feelings in promoting this decree as those which moved Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues to sup-

[1] Schol. ad Ar. *Aves*, 67.

press *The Happy Land*. For three years the decree remained in force, but the Athenian audience, whose palate had grown accustomed to plays full of spicery and salt, was soon bored by insipid productions devoid of the Parabasis or topical song (the lineal descendant of the lampoon), the chief feature in its palmy days of the Old Comedy. Accordingly in the archonship of Euthymenes (437–436 B.C.) the decree was rescinded and full liberty was restored to Comedy. Curiously enough, scholars do not seem to have remarked hitherto that the only result of this period of her enforced moderation was to obtain for Cratinus his first crown. This he won with his *Odysseis*, in which there was neither chorus nor Parabasis, and as the old Tory could not openly assail Pericles or any minor politician, he probably owed his triumph to the 'muzzling order' of 440–439 B.C.

For the next twenty years Comedy was free to deal as she pleased with every phase of political, social and even private life, and it must be admitted that in the hands of Aristophanes this power was well directed, whether its object was a powerful demagogue, a vicious young noble, or a philosopher like Socrates, whose teaching was mainly negative, who proclaimed the dangerous doctrine that Virtue was knowledge and Vice was ignorance, and two of whose pupils, Alcibiades and Critias, became the banes of Athens. In the first decade after the repeal of the decree Pericles himself no doubt often winced under the scourge, and so, too, did that procession of demagogues who followed him. First came Lysicles and Eucrates, who may be compared with Mr. Gladstone's colleagues in his last Cabinet who succeeded him in the leadership of his party. Close on their heels followed Cleon, who embittered the last days of Pericles, somewhat as those of Mr. Gladstone were rendered uncomfortable by politicians of the younger school such as Mr. Lloyd George. Like the latter, Cleon seems to have begun as a pacificist, but later, when conditions changed, he had no difficulty in taking up the rôle of a militarist. According to Aristotle, Cleon, by his scurrility, drove all respectable persons out of politics. Parallels to other modern politicians no less interesting can be found in Hyperbolus and Cleophon, both of whom were aliens, the former of Semitic origin,[1] as also in Alcibiades, the aristocratic demagogue so ready to change sides and whose name is so intimately connected with various naval incidents, not always to the advantage of his country. In the Athens of that day other 'rats' were not wanting, since Theramenes enjoyed the equivalent Greek nickname of *Cothornos* (a boot that fitted either foot alike).

[1] Schol. ad Ar. *Pac.* 692 : τινὲς δέ φασιν αὐτὸν Σύρον.

Although there was no actual law to check comic extravagance, demagogues occasionally sought to gag their persecutors by resorting to legal prosecutions. In 426 B.C. Aristophanes (who had made his début with his *Banqueters* in the previous year) satirized in his *Babylonians* not only the ridiculous Athenian system of filling important offices with men chosen by lot or by show of hands, but also attacked Cleon himself. The play was produced at the Great Dionysia, which fell in the spring, when the allies came with their tribute and were present in the theatre. Cleon was so enraged at this public exposure that he indicted the author or his representative (for the poet did not produce his first two plays under his own name) before the people on a charge of *laesa maiestas* (*adikia*), alleging that he had deliberately written the drama to insult the Demos and the Boule. Not content with this, Cleon also instituted private proceedings in the courts against the poet with a view to his disfranchisement, but this bold attempt to save himself proved abortive, Cleon himself was brought to trial in the ensuing autumn and compelled to disgorge five talents which he had extorted from some of the islanders.[1]

It is not impossible that means other than legal were sometimes employed against dramatists by some of their more powerful victims. Colour is lent to this by the common story that Alcibiades had Eupolis thrown overboard on the voyage to Sicily, because that poet had assailed him in his *Dippers* (*Baptai*). But as Eupolis was certainly alive in the year after the collapse of the Syracusan expedition, it is more likely, supposing that there is any truth in the story, that his murder took place in the naval movements in the Dardanelles and Sea of Marmora in 411 B.C. before the battle of Cynossema or that of Cyzicus, in the latter of which Alcibiades had certainly a part. But Suidas, our chief authority for the poet's life, says that ' it was by shipwreck that he met his death in the Hellespont (Dardanelles) in the war against the Lacedaemonians, and in consequence he did not take part in the military operations'. It is, however, not impossible that the term ' shipwreck ' may have been a euphemism for ' thrown overboard ' at the instance of some influential enemy. It is but right to mention that Aelian says that he was buried in Aegina, and that his dog Augeias, faithful unto death, refused all food and expired on his master's grave. On the other hand, Pausanias declares that he saw at Sicyon a tomb said to be that of the poet.

But though the demagogues plainly writhed under the lash of the

[1] Schol. ad Ar. *Ach.* 378.

comic poets, Cleon's ill success against Aristophanes seems to have deterred others from resorting to legal proceedings. However, in 416 B.C. one Syracosius, a demagogue who had been assailed by Eupolis, proposed a decree to make it illegal to attack any one by name on the comic stage :[1] in other words, he proposed to re-enact the decree of 440–439 B.C. which had been rescinded in 437–436 B.C. We do not know whether the decree was ratified by the assembly. It certainly did not deter Aristophanes in 414 B.C. from not only mentioning, but actually making Meton, the famous contemporary Athenian astronomer, one of the dramatis personae in his *Birds*. But in the stormy years that followed, Comedy had to furl her sails, though we do not hear of any direct restriction being placed on her by the oligarchy of the Four Hundred in 411 B.C., and indeed, there was no reason why a Conservative Government should have sought to silence Aristophanes. But it is not without significance that there is no Parabasis in the *Lysistrata*, which appeared in that year, nor yet in the *Thesmophoriazusae* acted in the following year (410 B.C.). The poet apparently thought it prudent to curb his utterances, or possibly as a supporter of the aristocratic party he naturally would not make their leaders butts for his wit. The latter is perhaps the more likely, since in far more dangerous times he did not refrain from strong denunciations of Cleophon in the *Frogs*, whilst Plato, the comic poet, devoted in that same year (405 B.C.) a whole play entitled *Cleophon* to that demagogue's detraction.[2] This man, a Thracian by descent, had on no less than three occasions prevented Athens from making peace with Sparta, first in 410 B.C., after the battle of Cyzicus, when the Spartans offered very favourable terms ; secondly, after Arginusae in 406 B.C., when the enemy was again anxious to make peace; and finally after the decisive defeat of the Athenians at Aegospotami, when the Spartans offered to conclude peace on condition that Athens should pull down part of her walls. On this last occasion, the very year of the *Frogs* and *Cleophon*, the demagogue had threatened with death any one who dared mention peace. But these plays were practically the dying words of the Old Comedy. For in the *Women in Parliament* (*Ecclesiazusae*), produced in 393 B.C., there is no Parabasis, and the play deals merely with a social question and generalities, whilst in the second, *Plutus*, acted in 388 B.C., we are face to face with the Middle Comedy.

From the foregoing survey we may conclude (1) that Comedy did

[1] Schol. ad Ar. *Aves*, 1297.

[2] Schol. ad Ar. *Ran.* 679, 681, 685, 1504, 1532.

not spring out of any religious ritual, but that Attic Comedy arose out of (*a*) the primitive Attic lampoons, combined with (*b*) the Megarian farce, and with (*c*) the plot copied by Epicharmus from the tragedies which he burlesqued ; (2) that the sudden rise of the Old Comedy after 460 B.C. was due to the abolition in 462 B.C. of the general powers of censorship vested in the Areopagus, and not to any positive legislation ; (3) that it is a travesty of the truth to regard the three great comic poets as amongst the most brilliant products of Athenian democracy. For we might just as well credit the Athenian democrats with that Aeschylus whom they drove into banishment, or the Puritans of the Long Parliament with Samuel Butler and his *Hudibras*, or the libertinism of the Restoration period with John Milton and *Paradise Lost*. Cratinus was nearly threescore years old before Ephialtes and Pericles had overthrown the aristocratic régime, and though Eupolis and Aristophanes were both born in the Athens of Pericles (the former about 446 B.C., the latter some two years later), they were born out of due time, since they can only be regarded as the outcome of democracy because their genius was evoked by their hatred and contempt for that series of demagogues and their dupes, who, within half a century from the founding of the Athenian empire by the Areopagus, had plunged Athens into a foolish war, had again and again refused favourable terms of peace, and finally reduced her to a state of exhaustion from which she never recovered, a warning to all those who fondly imagine that democracy means peace and national security.

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1. How does Dr. Ridgeway explain the fact that all these celebrations in honour of the dead are held yearly?

2. Why is one dead hero chosen out of so many for worship? Why should Osiris and Isis be deified to a greater extent than other Egyptian rulers, unless they are representative of a type, unless Osiris stands for the king who can fertilise Isis, the earth?